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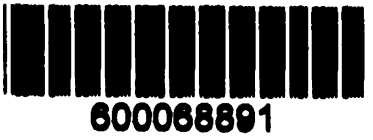
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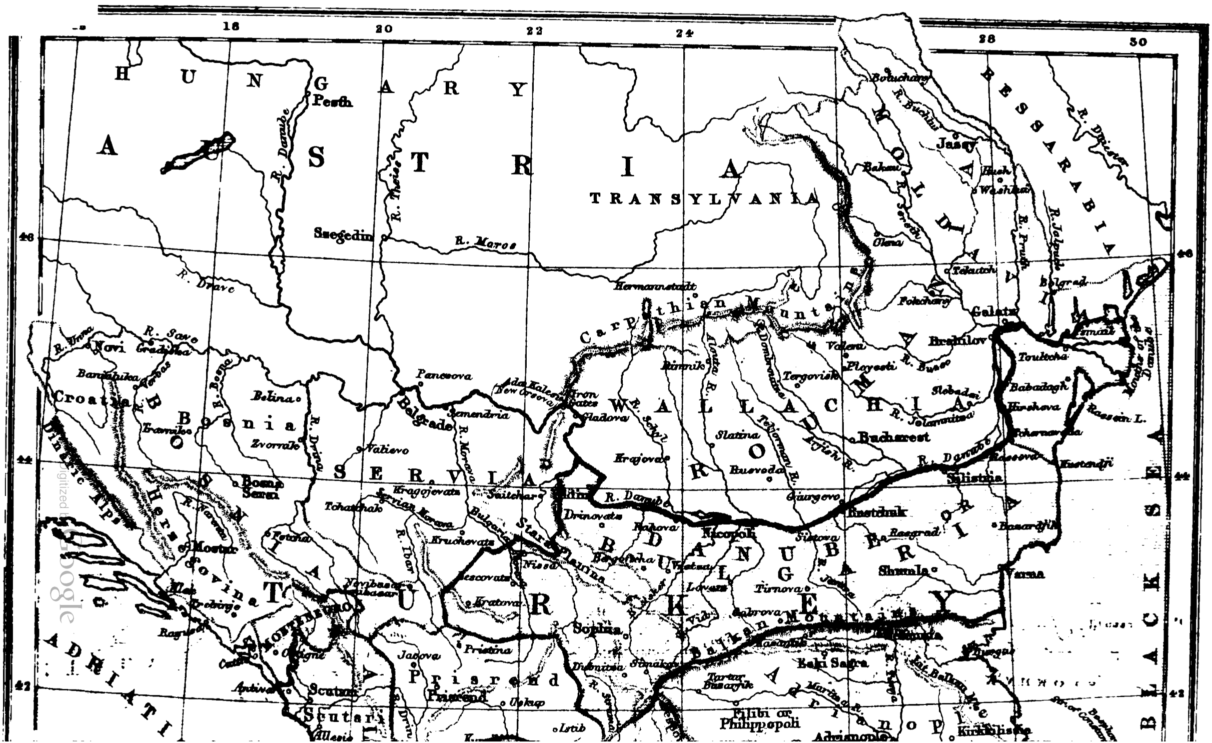
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PREFACE.

THE momentous events now occurring in the east of Europe are the sequel and consequence of revolutions which have agitated that part of the world for several centuries. To thoroughly understand the facts now being accomplished from day to day, it is necessary to follow in its principal features, general results, and most important revolutions, the history of the formation, grandeur, and decadence of the OTTOMAN EMPIRE. It is necessary, moreover, to have a clear idea of the institutions, manners, races, peoples, and religions of that empire, composed of so many different elements; and also possess as far as practicable an accurate knowledge of the geography of those still imperfectly known countries.

Such is the object of this little hand-book, which does not pretend to be a detailed history of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa, with elaborate accounts of palace revolutions and interminable provincial rebellions, but a brief narrative of the salient European events in that history most interesting to students, to civilisation, and the destinies of the human race.

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In the earlier portions of this outline of Turkish history—for it claims to be nothing more—the Author has been greatly indebted to the learned, substantial, and complete work of Von Hammer, upon whose authority and judgment in regard to facts the most implicit reliance may be placed. Other sources to which recourse has been made are too numerous to cite here, but which have been acknowledged either in the text or in the footnotes.

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HISTORY

OF THE

OTTOMAN EMPIRE IN EUROPE.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

ETHNOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE TURKS.

THE Ottoman Turks, a tribe of Turkomans, driven by the advance of Zinghis Khan on Khorassan into Asia Minor, there to become the nucleus of the Osmanli, took their rise in a small district of Phrygia, and only date from the fourteenth century; in the middle of the sixteenth their empire extended as far as the Adriatic Sea, to the Drave, the Raab, the Waag, to the Carpathians, to the Borysthenes, the Volga, to the Caspian Sea, to the Caucasus, to the Euphrates, to the Persian and Arabian Gulfs, to the Deserts of Nubia and Libya, to the Atlas Mountains. At the present day, that empire, in comprising within it the tributary countries which are bound to it by the links of vassalage, has for limits in Europe—to the south an imaginary line drawn from the Gulf of Volo to the Gulf of Arta, and which separates it from the kingdom of Greece; to the west, the Ionian and the Adriatic Seas as far as the heights of Montenegro, then another imaginary line parallel to the

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coast, and which separates it from Austrian Dalmatia as far as the sources of the Unna; to the north, a portion of the course of the Unna, the Save, from the confluence of that last-named stream as far as Belgrade, the course of the Danube from Belgrade as far as Orsova, the crest of the Eastern Carpathians from Orsova to near the sources of the Bistritza, an affluent of the Sereth, an imaginary line separating the Austrian Bukowine until it meets the Pruth, the course of the Pruth as far as its confluence with the Danube, the Danube and an imaginary line to the north of that river as far as the Black Sea.

Turkey in Asia has for limits—to the north and east, a conventional line which separates it from the Russian states, and which passes between Batoum and Akhaltzik, Kars and Erivan, then another conventional line which separates it from the Persian states, and which gives to Turkey almost all the basin of the Tigris and Euphrates; to the south, an indeterminate line which runs from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea, giving to Turkey a part of Arabia (or the Hedjas), and thence goes across the Isthmus of Suez to join the Mediterranean.

In Africa its possessions consist only of the tributary states of Egypt, Tunis, and Tripoli.

Turkey in Europe divides itself into two great portions, separated by the chain of the Balkans: (1.) The countries belonging to the basin of the Danube; (2.) The countries belonging to the peninsula, commonly called *the Hellenic*. The first comprehend Bosnia, Servia, Wallachia, Moldavia, and Bulgaria; the second comprise the provinces of the south of the Archipelago, which are Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly; provinces to the south of the Adriatic, Albania and the Herzegovina. It is in this physical order, which is not that of the administrative divisions of the Ottoman empire, but which is more simple and convenient, that we are about to prepare the reader for the history of that empire by the description of the countries which constitute it.

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ADMINISTRATIVE AND STATISTICAL DIVISIONS.

Administrative Divisions.—The Ottoman Empire, of which we have just given an outline, by taking chiefly for basis its physical and historical divisions, is at the present day divided, administratively, into *vilayets* or general governments, themselves sub-divided into *livas* or provinces, which are again divided into *cazas* or districts. Turkey in Europe comprehends 15 vilayets, 42 livas, and 376 cazas; Turkey in Asia, 17 vilayets, 83 livas, 858 cazas; to which are nominally added 3 vilayets for the vassal states of Africa.

The vilayets of Europe are:

1. Adrianople, including Thrace.
2. Silistria, including Lower Bulgaria.
3, 4. Widdin, Nissa, including Upper Bulgaria.
5, 6, 7. Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia.
8. Belgrade, including the Turkish places of Servia.
9. Uskioup, including Upper Macedonia.
10. Bosna-Seraï, including Bosnia and Croatia.
11. Roumelia, including Upper Albania and Middle Macedonia.
12. Janina, including Lower Albania.
13. Saloniki, including Lower Macedonia and Thessaly.
14. Djezir, including the isles of the Archipelago.
15. Crete.

The vilayets of Turkey in Asia are:

1. Kastamouni, including the ancient Paphlagonia.
2. Khoudavanghia, including Bithynia and Mœsia.
3. Aïdin, including Lydia.
4. Karaman, including Phrygia and Pamphylia.
5. Adana, including Cilicia.
6. Bozoq, including a part of Cappadocia.
7. Sivas, including a part of Cappadocia.
8. Trebizonde, including Pontus and Colchis.
9. Erzeroum, including Armenia.
10. Mosul, including Assyria.
11. Kurdistan.
12. Kharberout, including Sophene and Comagene.
13. Haleb, including a part of Syria.
14. Saïda, including Phœnicia and Palestine.
15. Damascus, including a part of Syria.
16. Bagdad, including Babylonia.
17. Habesch, including Arabia

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CHAPTER II.

PRIMITIVE POPULATIONS.

Conversion of the Ottoman Turks to Mahommedanism. —The Turks were the aborigines of those countries comprised between the Caspian Sea, the Altaï Mountains, the Ourals and Thibet, which still at the present day are known by the name of Turkestân. Thence have emerged, at different epochs, the barbarian peoples who have invaded the West, those devastating hordes of Mongol-Tartars, Kirgis, and Calmucks, nations of the same origin, which we confound under the general denomination of Tartars, and of which the Turk family appears to have been a considerable fraction. Probably the name of Turk has been, at certain epochs, a generic name common to all those tribes. The Ottomans, to whom we apply it at the present time, repudiate it. They do not call themselves Turks, nor apply the term to each other but in disparagement, as denoting uncouthness or barbarism, whilst they take a pride in the name of Osmanli, from the ancient splendour of the dynasty.

The Osmanli are a branch of the Turks in the larger meaning of the word. The Turks, a family distinguished from other nations by their language, customs, and physical character, are thinly spread over an immense extent of Asia, from the Desert of Gobi to the shores of the Mediterranean, and from the northern part of Siberia to the Persian Gulf. In some parts, as in South Siberia, in Turkestân, and in the greater part of Asia Minor, they form a compact population; in others, as in Syria, Armenia, and Mesopotamia, they are much less numerous than the original inhabitants. In Europe the Turkish population is compact in Roumelia, and in the government of Kazan, and some adjacent tracts in Eastern Russia. In Africa there are only a few Osmanli Turks.

Tradition says that Oghuz-Khan, the son of Kárá-Khan,

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a descendant of Turk, the common ancestor of all the Turks, was a mighty king in the time of Abraham. His empire was the country called Turkestân, known to the Persians by the name of Turán. According to an ancient legend, Oghuz had six sons. He sent them one day to the chase, as though in search of their future destiny. They brought back to him a bow and arrows which they had found. The father gave the bow to the three eldest, and the three arrows to the youngest; of the latter, each took one, but the first three broke the bow, and each kept a piece of it. Oghuz called the eldest "Bosuk" (*the breakers*), and the youngest "Utschok" (*the three arrows*). He confided to the first the right wing, and to the others the left wing of his army. Under his successors the empire was divided. Three khans, "the three arrows," ruled over the eastern Oghuzes, and extended their dominions towards China; three other khans, "the three breakers," were masters over the western Oghuzes, around the Oxus and the Jaxartes. The first of these "three breakers" was the "Khan of the Mountains;" he is the ancestor of the younger *Oghuzes*, or that part of the Oghuzes which preserved their name in later times, and of the Turkomans. The second was the "Khan of the Sea," the ancestor of the *Seljuks;* and the third was the "Khan of the Heaven," the ancestor of the tribe Kayi, from which are descended the *Osmanli*. These three tribes ultimately embraced Islamism, and played successively an important part in the history of the Mussulman states.

All the Turkish tribes who have enacted a conspicuous part in history embraced at an early period the Mahommedan religion; their dialects have in consequence been more or less modified by an admixture of Persian and Arabic, and their historical traditions are those common to all Moslems.

Leaving, however, the other Turkish tribes to divide and diffuse themselves, some into Turkestân, to which they gave their name, others along the shores of the Caspian Sea and the valleys of Armenia, we confine our-

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selves mainly to that branch of those Turks who, after having adopted Islamism and traversed Syria, conquered step by step Asia Minor, and founded the OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

Before, however, tracing the rise to power of that conquering race, the narrative must be prefaced by a brief retrospect of that portion of the Christian era which preceded the birth of the rival faith of Islamism, with a glance at its early progress and rapid extension during three centuries following upon the death of its founder.

The Roman Empire at its greatest extent, during the age of the Antonines (A.D. 96-180), may be said to have taken in all the old world within the Rhine, the Danube, the Tigris, and Euphrates, and the great desert of Africa. Behind the Rhine and the Danube were the Franks, the Germans, and the Goths, and other Teutonic tribes, who were destined to overthrow the fabric of the Roman Empire in Europe; and behind the Tigris and Euphrates were the Parthians and Persians, the great rivals of Rome in Asia. Three centuries more (A.D. 476), and Odoacer, the king of the Heruli, had taken Rome, and the fall of the Western Empire was completed. But Rome still ruled the Eastern Empire from Constantinople, and Rome and Persia still contended along the border lands of the Tigris and Euphrates for the supremacy of Asia, where the memory of their rivalry lingers in the spell which the mighty names (*tremendæ majestates*) of Cæsar and of Khosroes yet, after twelve centuries, exercise over the tranced nations of the East.

Mahommed and Mahommedanism.—It was at the commencement of the seventh century that the tribe and family of Mahommed obtained the sovereignty of Mecca, and the guardianship of the Caaba, and a series of events was set in motion in the heart of Arabia which was to result in a succession of the most stupendous religious and political revolutions the world has ever witnessed. Within one hundred years from the death of Mahommed, every nation and tribe of the old Roman and Persian world, from India and the confines of China

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to France and Spain, was almost simultaneously assailed by the Saracen Arabs. The empire of the Khosroes fell at a blow. Syria, Egypt, and all the Greek possessions in Asia and Africa, were subjugated almost as rapidly. For a thousand years, from the first Arab irruption in 664 until Baber founded the Mongol Empire of Delhi in 1526, and which lasted, in form at least, to 1857, the history of India is chiefly occupied with the struggles of the Hindoo races against their Mahommedan conquerors of various tribes. In the thirteenth century the Golden Horde under Batou, a grandson of Zinghis Khan, overran and barbarised Russia. And two centuries later, when the Moors were being driven out of Spain, after it had been held for 700 years by the Saracens and Moors, the imperial rule of the Ottoman Turks was, on the final ruin of the Eastern Emperor, permanently established in Constantinople. When the second Khosroes, at the height of his power and glory, was contemplating with pride the great Artemita which he had built, and all its fabulous treasures, he received a letter from Mahommed, then an obscure citizen of Mecca, despised and rejected of his own family and his fellow-townsmen, bidding the Persian King of Kings acknowledge him as the Prophet of God. Khosroes tore the letter in pieces. "It is thus," exclaimed Mahommed, when it was told him, "that God will rend *his* kingdom, and reject *his* supplications." Eight centuries before his prophetic vision was fulfilled, he looked forward to the fall of Constantinople as the secular triumph of Islam. The faithful were never to rest until it was gained, and he promised the absolution of all their sins to the first army of his followers which should enter the city of the Cæsars and the metropolis of Christianity. For a thousand years, indeed, it was a life and death struggle between Christendom and Islam for the mastery of Europe. When the Empire of the Saracens was destroyed at Bagdad by the Mongols, and at Cordova by the Moors, the hordes of Mongols, Turks, and Moors continued the Mahommedan attacks on Europe, as they continued and extended them in Asia.

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We will now advert to that period of Mahommedan history which is embraced by the Khalifate of Bagdad, subsequent to the rise of the Abbaside dynasty, the descendants of Abbas, Mahommed's uncle, during which the fatal policy of embodying the nucleus of a standing army of Turkish mercenaries as a body-guard by Motassem, the thirty-seventh khalif, and their conversion to Islamism, was the signal of the overthrow of the Empire of the Arabs and the khalifate. Long before this, however—between A.D. 499 and 678—successive hordes of these barbarians had passed from Central Asia across the Volga into Europe, where they effected a permanent settlement between the Danube and the Balkan Mountains. These are the Volgarians or Bulgars. But the Turks who took possession of the dominions of the Eastern Khalifate and Eastern Empire came into Syria and Asia Minor across the Oxus and Jaxartes. One of these Turks was Seljuk, the founder of the second of the great Turkish dynasties of Persia, and ever since his days the Turks—first the Seljuks and then the Ottomans—have ruled in Western Asia, and the Indian Moguls traced their ancestry to the same imperial race.

CHAPTER III.

RISE AND FALL OF THE KHALIFATE OF BAGDAD.—THE TURKISH GUARDS (A.D. 732).

In one hundred years from the death of Mahommed the Moslems had carried their dominion from the heart of Arabia as far as the Indus on the east, and to the Pyrenees on the west—1700 to 1800 leagues in extent. No empire of antiquity had attained such great dimensions. But that immense zone was soon cut into three parts by the usurpation of the Abbasides in Asia, the

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Ommïades in Spain, and the Fatimites in Africa. The most famous of the African dynasties was that of the Fatimites, which pretended to descend from Ali and Fatima, therefore from Mahommed. They founded in 968 the Khalifate of Cairo, the rival in power and splendour of those of Bagdad and Cordova.

The Khalifate of Bagdad (750).—The usurpation of the Ommïades and that of the Fatimites tore away from the Abbasides all the western provinces of their empire. They were able to retain only their Asiatic possessions. Almanzor, Haroun Al-Raschid, and Al-Mamoun are the three great names of the Eastern Khalifate.

Almanzor, the Founder of Bagdad (762).—Abou-Giaffar Almanzor, or *the Victorious*, brother and successor, in 754, of the first Abbaside, had to combat his uncle Abdallah, took him prisoner, and as he had sworn not to cause him to perish either by steel or poison, he crushed him to death by the fall of a ceiling. After that cruel perfidy, which rendered him sole master, he ruled wisely. It was he who gave to the Arabian empire its third and celebrated capital, Bagdad (762), built on the banks of the Tigris, near the ancient Seleucia, the capital of the Greek kings, successors of Alexander.

Almanzor deviated still more than his predecessors from primitive simplicity. He amassed a treasure which amounted, it is said, to three hundred and a half millions of our money. His son Mahad expended six millions of dinars[1] in a single pilgrimage to Mecca. What had become of Omar with his sack of dates and leathern water-bottle?

Haroun Al-Raschid (786-809).—The most celebrated of the Khalifs of Bagdad was "Haroun Al-Raschid" (*Aaron the Just*), surnamed also *the Victorious*. He was popular to a certain degree even in Europe, as well as his faithful vizier, Giaffar. His relations with Charlemagne are well known. He made eight invasions of the Greek Empire, and imposed a tribute upon the Byzantine

[1] The value of a *dinar* is about ten shillings.

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emperors, which he compelled them to pay in coin stamped with his own effigy. Whilst making war upon the Byzantines, he borrowed from them their sciences, their books, and popularised them amongst the Arabians by the protection which he accorded to learned men. That species of merit also belongs especially to his natural son Al-Mamoun, who founded numerous schools, an academy, and fostered science and letters at a prodigious expense.

Dominions of Haroun Al-Raschid—Their Division (809).—On the succession of Haroun Al-Raschid, the dominions of the khalifate stretched from the Atlantic to the Indus, and from the Straits of Babelmandeb to the Sea of Aral. The example of revolt which had been given by the Ommïades of Spain was followed by Edris the Alide, who made himself master of the northern part of Africa west of Tunis, and assumed the title of khalif (788). Haroun received the intelligence of this audacious rivalry with extreme anger and mortification. The remote position of Edris, and the attachment of his followers, secured him against the arms of the Khalif; but poison was easily administered by an emissary of Haroun. The Alide cause, however, survived in his posterity, who retained the title of khalif until A.D. 941, when they were deposed by the more powerful Fatimites of Egypt.

Some years before his death, Haroun committed the baneful error of dividing the succession between his three sons. To Amin, the second, was allotted the khalifate, with that portion of the empire south of the Caspian and west of the Gulf of Persia. The northern and eastern parts were given to his eldest but illegitimate son, Mamoun, who was admonished to acknowledge the supremacy of his brother. Armenia and the north of Mesopotamia formed an appanage for his third son, Mutaman.

Amin was a dissolute and imbecile prince, vigorous only in the unjust attempt which he made to deprive his brother Mamoun of his dominions. An army of 60,000 men, despatched for the purpose, was defeated by Mamoun's general, Taher, with an insignificant num-

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ber of the valiant soldiers of Khorassan. This victory encouraged Mamoun to assume the title of khalif, and besiege Amin in Bagdad. The Khalif, seized in flight, was immediately put to death by Taher, and his head despatched to Mamoun.

Grandeur and Fall of the Khalifate of Bagdad.—At the accession of Mamoun the state had attained its greatest financial prosperity, and his revenue, it is probable, considerably exceeded thirty millions sterling. His liberality kept pace with, or even outstripped, his opulence. He was a munificent patron of letters, and expended 300,000 pieces of gold in translations of the most eminent Christian writers. During an expedition against the Greeks, he died, in consequence of a surfeit of dates, rendered more deleterious by excessive draughts of the chill water of the Bezizon, or Cydnus, a river once before nearly fatal to a far more illustrious sovereign.

Creation of the Turkish Guards (833).—Amin was succeeded by his brother Motassem, whose short-sighted policy accelerated the dissolution of the empire of the khalifs. Intent on surrounding himself with a strong body-guard, upon whose fidelity he might implicitly rely, he purchased a great number of Turkish youths, and, after they had been disciplined, stationed them in his palace. The insolent rapacity of these rude foreigners led to frequent quarrels with the citizens of Bagdad, and Motassem, retiring in disgust from his capital, laid the foundation of the town of Samara. By a whimsical display of power, he commanded each soldier in his cavalry, said to amount to 130,000 men, to fill with earth the little sack, or (as it is familiarly called in English) the nosebag, used in feeding his charger; and all of these being emptied at an appointed spot, formed an eminence, on which was raised the palace of the Khalif. The transfusion of Turkish hardihood into the military force of the khalifate gave it some transient vigour; and the reiterated invasions of Syria by the Emperor Theophilus afforded occasion and scope for its exertion.

Decadence of the Khalifate (842).—The khalifs, whose

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dominions had been contracted by successive revolts to Bagdad and its immediate vicinity, were pitiable victims of the brutal caprice of their Turkish guards, and possessed neither spirit nor power to resist the progress of the Greeks. With the death of Motassem had departed the glory of the khalifate, and that prince himself must be regarded as the principal agent in its degradation. A standing army is ever a dangerous instrument to the power which wields it, and that which Motassem formed of foreign and barbarous mercenaries, was of all others the most likely to prove mutinous and faithless. Their insolence was fostered during the weak reign of his son Vathek, whose debaucheries and deviations from orthodox Islamism have qualified him to serve as a hero in a singular romance, which renders his name familiar to readers of the present day.[1] He was succeeded by his brother Motavakel, a weak and dissolute prince, whose only energy was displayed in the persecution of both Jews and Christians. His son Montasser, one of the objects of many wanton and degrading cruelties perpetrated by this tyrant, avenged himself fearfully in his father's blood, and the parricide succeeded to the throne, which he retained for only six months, distracted by the agonies of remorse. He died either a victim to the terrors of a wounded conscience, or, as other accounts represent, to poison.

We hasten over the short reign of Mostain. In that of his successor, Motaz, a severe blow was inflicted on the khalifate by the loss of Egypt.

Toulunide Dynasty of Egypt (862).—Ahmed, the son of Toulun, was of Turkish descent, and by birth an Arab. Invested with the government of Egypt and part of Syria, he, by his activity, talents, and popular qualities, rapidly acquired power sufficient to enable him, after a few years' possession, to found an independent dynasty. The accounts given by the Arabian historians of the opulence and splendour of Ahmed startle the most

[1] "The Khalif Vathek." By Beckford of Fonthill.

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accommodating credulity. His revenue, we are informed, amounting to three hundred million pieces of gold, was distributed in the relief of misery, or the reward of merit. A thousand pieces were daily expended in the purchase of bread, beeves, and goats, which, prepared in the kitchens of Ahmed, were spread forth on the pavement of the great court of his palace. The gates were then thrown open, and a crier proclaimed, "Let all who will, enter and dine;" whilst the Toulunide prince, seated above at a window, feasted his benevolent disposition with the sight, and returned thanks to God, who provided for the wants of his people. His death, occasioned by a surfeit of buffalo's milk, presents a vestige of the pastoral manners of his ancestors. He left a treasure of ten million pieces of gold. His posterity ruled Egypt until A.D. 905, when it was reunited to the khalifate, to be again severed by the Turkish adventurer, Ikschid.

Motaz, like his predecessor, Mostain, and his successor, Mothadi, was put to death by the Turkish guards. In the reign of Mothammed, which followed, the khalifate was deprived of Persia by the revolt of Yacoub Ben Leis, the founder of the powerful but short-lived dynasty of the Soffarides. He put an end to the dynasty of the Taherites, which, since the reign of Mamoun, had ruled Khorassan; and, thus encouraged, he advanced to the siege of Bagdad. The natural death of the invader at a critical moment probably averted the fall of the khalifate. His brother Amer received from Mothammed the investiture of those provinces, which he already held by the sword. In the pride of power he ordered each commander of a thousand horse, to appear bearing a golden mace, and the number of those officers was found to amount to one hundred. This display of splendour and power was dissipated by the storm of a Turkish invasion. Ismail Samanee, the leader of a powerful tribe of that race, at the instigation of the Khalif, led 20,000 horsemen over the Oxus, and encountered the cavalry of Amer, four times more numerous. Amer, defeated and

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made prisoner, was sent in chains to the Khalif, by whom he was put to death. His dominions were bestowed upon Ismail, the founder of the Samanides, who ruled the north of Persia until the close of the tenth century, when their power yielded to the ascendancy of Mahmud of Ghizni.

But the severest blow of all was inflicted on the khalifate by a spirit of fanaticism, resembling that to which it owed its rise. The origin and name of the Carmathians is generally attributed to Carmath, who, in the beginning of the ninth century, was tempted by the remembrance of the success of Mahommed, to commence a somewhat similar career of imposture. His less bold and less inventive mind was content, however, with modifying or enlarging the tenets of the Koran. The fall of this sect was as obscure as its rise, but the deep wounds which it inflicted may be regarded among the chief causes of the dissolution of the khalifate. Yet still, though helpless and humbled, the khalifs by their external splendour continued to excite the amazement and admiration of strangers. In the nominal reign of Moctader, during which the public prayers and the inscriptions on the coins exhibited his name and attested his sovereignty, the government was virtually in the hands of the Turkish guards and female minions, whose influence prevailed to so great an extent that a woman presided in the courts of justice. The Turks twice deposed and twice restored Moctader, but their pride or policy exhibited him to the nations of the West in the utmost magnificence of an Oriental court. When he gave audience to the ambassador of Constantine VII., "the Khalif's whole army, both horse and foot, was under arms, which together made a body of 160,000 men. His state officers, the favourite slaves, stood near him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near them were 7000 eunuchs, 4000 of them white, the remainder black. The door-keepers were in number 700. Barges and boats, with the most superb decorations, were seen swimming on the Tigris; nor was the palace itself less splendid, in

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which were hung up 38,000 pieces of tapestry, 12,500 of which were of silk, embroidered with gold; the carpets on the floor were 22,000. 100 lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion. Among other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury was a tree of gold and silver, spreading into 18 large branches, on which and on the lesser boughs sat a variety of birds, made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery effected spontaneous motions, the several birds warbled their natural harmony."[1]

Decline of the Temporal Power of the Khalifs.—Kaher, the successor of Moctader, after a reign of two years, was deposed by the Turkish guards and deprived of sight. A striking and pitiable spectacle of fallen greatness, for the rest of his life he begged his bread, stationed every Friday at the door of the great mosque in which he had formerly recited public prayers, and repeating, "Remember him who, once your khalif, now implores your alms." With his successor, Radhi, terminated the temporal power of the khalifs, who after his death were regarded merely as the chief pontiffs of Islam, holding a powerless title at the mercy of the military rulers of Bagdad. The Bowide sovereigns of Persia had destroyed the power of the Turkish guards to replace it by their own more systematic and steady tyranny. The Hamadanite dynasty severed Mesopotamia from even the nominal dominion of the khalifs, which was now restricted to Bagdad and its vicinity; and their names until their final ruin by the Turks merit notice no further than as they regulate the canon of Oriental chronology.

We shall not, therefore, endeavour to follow out the decline of the empire of the khalifs. The frequent revolutions of the throne of Bagdad ceased to have any influence on the rest of the world; in each successive reign some province detached itself from the ancient monarchy, some new dynasty sprang into existence, and some fresh matter was afforded for what Orientals take

[1] Gibbon, x. 38, from Abulfed, ii. 329. See also D'Herbelot, *v.* "Moctader."

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for history, namely, the chronology of princes. To them, indeed, it is but an index to the parricides and fratricides of each reign, or to the battles followed by the desolation of certain provinces, without the slightest advancement in the human species towards better government, towards a stronger guarantee for its rights, towards a greater development of its faculties.

The loading the memory with the names of a host of princes, to which not a single useful or interesting idea can be attached, is but a waste of time and an abuse of learning. One remarkable change, of which we have already spoken, connected with the decline of those sovereigns of Bagdad, who daily saw new provinces escape from their grasp, deserves a cursory recapitulation. They had remarked the decline of enthusiasm, the falling off in the courage, and even of the bodily strength, of their own subjects, from the time that all noble objects had ceased to be presented to their ambition or their activity. Motassem, the twenty-seventh khalif, who died in 842, had endeavoured, as has been mentioned above, to supply this want, by sending to Turkestân to purchase young slaves bred in the mountain region of Caucasus, whom he trained to the profession of arms, and formed into a guard, to which he entrusted the protection of his palace. These troops soon became numerous and formidable. Their strength and courage distinguished them among a people grown effeminate by luxury; and that jealousy of disaffection among his subjects, so natural to an Eastern monarch, might be an additional motive with the Khalif Motassem to form bodies of guards out of these Turkish slaves. But his policy was fatally erroneous. More rude and even more ferocious than the Arabs, they despised the feebleness of the khalifate, whilst they grasped at its riches. The rivalry which existed between them and the Syrians effectually disgusted the latter with the military career, and the Turks were soon the only soldiers of the khalifs. The slavery in which they had been reared rendered them less faithful, without being more submissive or obedient. From this time,

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most of the revolutions in Syria were their work. They hurled from the throne, or they assassinated, those khalifs who were not the obsequious tools of their insolence and rapacity. Thus, in about one hundred years after the introduction of the Turkish soldiers, the sovereigns of Bagdad had sunk almost into oblivion. Al Rhadi, the twentieth of the Abbasides and thirty-ninth of the successors of Mahommed, who died in 940, was the last of these that officiated in the mosque, that commanded the forces in person, that addressed the people from the pulpit, that enjoyed the pomp and splendour of royalty, the last who deserved the title of *Commander of the Faithful*.[1] Four years previous to his death, the Turkish guards elected a chief of their own body, whom they called Emir al Omara (or Chief of Chiefs, *Imperator Imperatorum*). This officer, who superseded the office of vizier, was henceforward the true sovereign of the State; he alone disposed of the treasure, the troops, the offices of power or dignity: he kept the khalif a prisoner in his own palace, reducing him to that life of poverty, penitence, and prayer, which the early successors of Mahommed had imposed on themselves by choice; nor did he even scruple to take his life, if there was any caprice of the chief or of the soldiers which the Commander of the Faithful found it impossible to gratify. The Emir al Omara of Bagdad has sometimes been compared to the *Maire du Palais*, who was the virtual ruler of France under the kings of the first race. The origin of the power of the two officers was, however, very different, and its abuse was more violent and more cruel on the part of the Turk than on that of the Austrasian; though the thraldom of the legitimate sovereign to his minister presents some features of resemblance.

Such is the outline of Saracenic history for three centuries after Mahommed: one age of glorious conquest; a second of stationary, but rather precarious greatness; a third of rapid decline. The Greek Empire meanwhile survived, and almost recovered from the shock it had sustained.

[1] Abulfeda, p. 261; Gibbon, c. 52.

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Dismemberment of the Khalifate of Bagdad by the Turkish Guards.—In the midst of this anarchy, the Khalifate of Bagdad fell in pieces. From the time of Haroun Al-Raschid, Africa had detached itself from it. Even in Asia, independent dynasties, the most part founded by Turks who had become governors of provinces, arose on all sides: the *Ikchides*, whose duration was brief (868-905); in the Khorassan, the *Taherites* (814-872), to whom succeeded the *Soffarides* (872-902), themselves replaced by the *Samanides*, Tartar hordes newly converted to the Koran; in Mesopotamia, the *Hamanides* (892-1001); in Persia, the *Bowides* (933-1055), a Tartar people, who were spread from the Caspian Sea to the Indian Ocean.

The Turks thus insinuated themselves by degrees into the domination of Asia. They were at first made the soldiers of the khalifs; but when they had overcome their masters to the extent of degrading them and disposing of their thrones, they ended by taking their lives, and constituting themselves possessors of their power.

CHAPTER IV.

RISE OF THE SELJUKIAN TURKS.

It is here that we may most conveniently notice, by way of episode, the early history of that conqueror who overthrew the Cæsar Romanus Diogenes. Of the three great Tartar nations, the Huns, the Mongols, and the Turks, who have spread their devastations and dominion over the largest and most populous portion of the civilised world, the last alone have retained existence as an independent people. Their first appearance in Persian history, in the early part of the eleventh century, exhibits them as one of the most numerous and formidable of the

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pastoral nations. When that mighty destroyer, Mahmud of Ghizni, had, by his twelve fanatical expeditions to Hindostan, exhausted the energies of his people, the reported bravery and numbers of the Turks who roved over the wastes of Bokhara alarmed the caution of his declining years. Under the guise of friendship, he asked a Turkish envoy what assistance his tribe could afford him in case of attack. "Send this," said the Turk, holding forth an arrow, "and fifty thousand horsemen will repair to your standard; add another from my quiver, and the number will be doubled; if you need further aid, despatch my bow through our tribes, and two hundred thousand mounted warriors will obey the summons." Mahmud listened to the answer with deep alarm, but the storm of invasion was averted until his death; after which his son Massoud was utterly defeated at Zendecan, in Khorassan, by Togrul Beg, the Turkish chief, and this decisive action at once shattered into fragments the colossal empire of the Ghiznevides. The descendants of Buyah, the Bowides as they are named, had put an end to the capricious and brutal tyranny then exercised over the khalifs by the Turkish guards,[1] and, under the title of Emir al Omara, which they retained during a century, ruled Persia until they themselves sank beneath the power of the Ghiznevides. The Turkish prince, as a consequence of his victory, enjoyed the high consideration resulting from the custody of the khalif, and the possession of Bagdad. Togrul Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, Emir of Turkestân, commenced the prosperity of the Seljukides, who were about to absorb the other tribes, and dominate all the East. After having conquered the Ghiznevides and driven them into India, he entered Khorassan, which belonged to the Bowides, overthrew and took prisoner the chief of that family, who commanded the army of the khalif. That victory opened to the grandson of Seljuk the way to Bagdad; he entered therein without opposition, compelled the Abbaside prince to confer upon him the

[1] Price, ii. 155; Malcolm, i. 167; D'Herbelot.

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title of *Sultan*, and tore from him the custody of the Bowides to impose his own. Besasiri, the head of the fallen family, revolted, and summoned to Bagdad the Fatimite Khalif of Egypt, but he was overthrown and put to death. Togrul Beg received the title of Emir al Omara, and reigned from Bokhara to Syria, from the vicinity of the Indus to the Black Sea; and at his death, in his seventieth year, bequeathed the vast empire which he had conquered to his nephew, Alp Arslan (*the robust lion*). That great prince reigned without a rival among the Mahommedans, as the Fatimite khalifs of Egypt, happy to maintain their independence, sought, by obsequious missions, the friendship of the warlike potentate, whose double sway, as the ruler of the east and west, was denoted by the formidable symbol of a scimitar girt on each thigh. From this epoch the khalifs were mere nonentities; they possessed only the honorary pontifical authority; the true masters of the empire were the Seljukian sultans. Recent converts to Islamism, they exhibited the ferocious ardour of the first disciples of Mahommed, and dreamed only of wars and conquests.

The Battle of Manzikert (1071).—Alp Arslan, in his career of victory, crossed the Euphrates, seized upon Cæsarea and Cappadocia, subjugated Armenia and Georgia, and advanced into the heart of Phrygia. The Byzantine emperor, Cæsar Romanus Diogenes, encouraged by the success of three campaigns, in which he slaughtered or dispersed the numerous armies led against him by the feudatories or generals of Alp Arslan, advanced adventurously at the head of 100,000 men to the confines of Media. Alp Arslan, leading 40,000 cavalry, hastened to chastise the invader; but a near view of the strength of his enemy suggested moderation. When his overtures for peace were met by an insulting demand that he should surrender his capital as the pledge of his sincerity, the Turkish sultan arrayed his squadrons on the plain of Konogo, with his own hands equipped his charger, clothed himself in his shroud, and having perfumed his body with musk, according to the fashion of Mahommedan burial,

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declared his determination, if defeated, to find a grave on the field of battle. The event was such as had been usual whenever infantry met on open ground the cavalry of the Asiatic plains. The rapid evolutions of the Turkish horsemen evaded the onset of the Greeks, whose dense columns were exposed, without hope of retaliation, to the carnage inflicted by the skilful archery of their enemies. Romanus, at the close of a long and hard-fought day, in which he had exhibited admirable valour and presence of mind, found himself left almost alone amidst his enemies by the fall or flight of his troops. He was disarmed and led to the presence of Alp Arslan, who, in the first ungenerous exultation of triumph, is related to have set his foot on the neck of the emperor. This was but a momentary impulse; he afterwards treated Romanus with considerable kindness, released him on promise of a ransom of a million pieces of gold, and was preparing to assist him in the recovery of his throne, when he received information that the unfortunate monarch had been put to death by his subjects.

Assassination of Alp Arslan (1072).—The attention of the Seljukian sultans was so much engrossed by the conquest of the regions of the south, that Bokhara, their original country, had escaped from their dominion, and Alp Arslan was on his march to invade it with 200,000 men, when he fell by the hand of an assassin. The Empire of the Seljukian Turks attained its highest pitch of splendour and power in the reign of his son and successor, Malek Shah, on whose death it fell to pieces as rapidly as it had risen. The vast territory was divided between the four principal Seljukian dynasties of Kerman, of Persia, of Syria, and of Roum, and their ruinous dissensions presented a favourable opening for some of the most splendid successes of the CRUSADES.

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CHAPTER V.

GROWTH OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

NOTHING could seem a more dead survival than the long succession of Abbaside khalifs; but when their claims were passed on to the Ottoman sultans, the successor of the Prophet became a terrible reality.

Solyman.—The reins of empire fell after the death of Alp Arslan into the hands of Malek Shah, his son. It was a kinsman of Malek Shah, Solyman, who had achieved the conquest of Asia Minor over the Greeks, leaving to the Emperor of Byzantium only Trebizonde and some other ports; he had then erected, in the country of Roum or of the Romans, a sort of state under the suzerainty of Malek Shah. Having attempted to free himself from that suzerainty, he was conquered and slain (1085). His sons, David and Kilidje-Arslan, on the death of Malek, established themselves in Asia Minor, and there founded (1095) at Koniah (Iconium), in Cappadocia, an independent state, the sultanry of Roum or of Iconium, which became so celebrated in the history of the Crusades. The sultanry of Syria was divided into two others—that of Aleppo, and that of Damascus. In the sequel, the Fatimites profited by all these troubles to renew their attacks upon Palestine.

Such was the situation of Western Asia when the struggle between the East and the West was recommenced by the Crusades. But it does not belong to our subject to follow the course of those celebrated wars.

Orthoguel (1231).—At the epoch when Zinghis, by overthrowing the Empire of Khanaresme, opened Western Asia to the invasion of the peoples of the East, Soliman-Shah, son of Kaialp, chief of a tribe of Oghuz Turks scattered through the Khorassan, swept by the tide of Mongol invasion, quitted that country with 50,000 of his countrymen, and established himself in Armenia in

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the environs of Erz-Inghian, upon the Euphrates. Some years afterwards, regretting its native soil, the horde retraced its steps thither; but, in attempting to cross the Euphrates, near the stronghold of Djaber, its chief was drowned (1231). His tomb is still to be seen on the river's bank, and is known by the name of Turk-Mezari (*the Turk's tomb*). The families who had been under his leadership dispersed; one portion, with his two eldest sons, returned into Khorassan; the rest, with his two younger sons, Dundar and Orthoguel, and who were to the number of 400 families, wandered for some time in the valley of the Upper Araxes and upon the plains of Erzeroum, towards the sources of the Euphrates, sojourning during summer upon the heights, and descending in winter into the plains, according to the custom of nomad races. Orthoguel soon advanced further to the west; and whilst journeying with his tribe upon the frontiers of the Seljukians of Roum, he came upon two armies contending for the mastery in the plain. Without knowing whom the combatants were, he resolved to aid the weakest against the strongest party, and his valour decided the fortune of the day. The conquered were the Mongols, and the conqueror Alaeddin, the Seljukide sultan, who, in recognition of the timely succour he had received from the nomad chief, gave him a residence in his states, and assigned him for summer quarters the eastern slopes of the Toumanidsch mountains, of which Mount Olympus in Bithynia forms a part, and for winter quarters the plains of Sægud on the Sangarius.

Vassal of the sultan, Orthoguel served him in his wars against the Greeks, who still occupied some cities in that extreme region of the peninsula. After a battle in which his *akindschis* (pioneers, scouts, or foragers), placed in front of the army, had rendered signal service, he received in recompense a small territory in the district of Bosæni, not far from Eskischehr, the ancient Dorylea. At the same time the name of the district of Bosæni was changed, Alaeddin calling it Sultan-æni (*forehead of the sultan*), in honour of the brave advanced guard. The

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name has long remained that of one of the seventeen sandjaks of present provinces of Turkey in Asia; the narrow canton which first bore it was the cradle of the Ottoman power.

All nations, and especially those of the East, delight to surround their origin with marvellous circumstances; there is scarcely any founder of a dynasty, but its grandeur was miraculously announced to him. Thus we find in the Ottoman annals, that Osman or Othoman, son of Orthoguel, whom the sultans look upon as the founder of their dynasty, had, like the patriarch Jacob, a dream, in which the brilliant destinies of his race were revealed to him. Othoman was enamoured of the beautiful Malkatoun (*treasure of the eyes*), daughter of a learned Arab sheik, Edebali. He asked her in marriage of her father. The sheik, fearing for the happiness of his daughter, the disdain of the family of Othoman, far superior to his obscurity, refused him Malkatoun. Other neighbouring princes, attracted by the girl's beauty, proposed for her, all of them in vain. Othoman battled during two years in a contest for her with his rivals. His constancy in the meantime touched the heart of Edebali. Patience, according to the Arabs, is the price that God sets on all felicity.

Othoman's Dream.—One day Othoman, more dejected but more persevering than ordinary, had come to ask hospitality from Edebali for a night, hoping always to get a glance at least at Malkatoun. He had a dream, in which he saw that the globe of the moon, issuing from the breast of Edebali, came to repose upon his bosom; then a tree began to vegetate before him, and covered in a few moments with its branches the earth and seas, to the extremity of the horizon of the three continents, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Four enormous mountains, the Caucasus, the Atlas, the Taurus, the Hæmus, supported, like four pillars, the overladen branches of the tree. From the sides of these mountains ran respectively four rivers—the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Danube. Their beds in widening watered countries

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verdant with pastures, yellow with harvests, dark with forests, and wafted vessels to the four seas. Towers, fortified cities, domes, cupolas, minarets, obelisks, pyramids crowned with the sign of the crescent of the moon, arose along the verge of valleys amid roses and cypresses. Harmonious invitations to prayer, like to the melodies of the celestial bulbuls, were poured from the summits of those graceful monuments upon the air. All of a sudden the branches and the leaves of the trees gleamed like lance points and sabre blades, and were turned by a puff of wind towards Constantinople. Then this capital, situated between two seas, sparkled like the sapphire of a ring between two emeralds. It was the nuptial ring of the marriage of Othoman with the capital of the world. He was just about to wear it on his finger when he awoke.

After having heard the recital of this wonderful dream, the sheik gave his daughter to Othoman; and the beauteous Malkatoun became the mother of Orchan, his successor. Orthoguel lived to a very advanced age; but his son long took his place before his death at the head of the Seljukian armies.

Constantinople and the Byzantine Emperors.—Before relating the exploits of Othoman and the fresh conquests of Islamism from the Byzantine Empire, let us cast a glance over the caducity of that empire.

Since Constantine had changed the capital, the Roman Empire, too unwieldy to be managed by a single hand, commenced speedily to fall into dissolution. Divided between the sons of Theodosius into two empires, the Byzantine Empire, to which its capital, Byzantium, gave its name, preserved for some time, against the barbarians of the East, something of that superstitious terror that Rome had preserved against the barbarians of the West. Its limits, long respected, extended from the Tigris along to the Adriatic, and from the confines of Scythia, now Russia, along to Ethiopia, where lie concealed the fountains of the Nile. Amongst the numerous heterogeneous populations submitted to the laws of this empire, the

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Greeks predominated by number, by the nobility of their origin, by the Christian religion primitively adopted, organised, propagated, interpreted in the East—in fine, by arts, by eloquence, by wealth, by policy. In transplanting the Empire of Rome to Byzantium, Constantine made a change, not only of capital and religion, but also of race. All was become Greek in Greece, and Asiatic in Asia. The emperors and Romans of the East had retained of the Romans in Italy but their pride and their despotism. The same vices flowed, but in another blood. Byzantium might have been taken for a Persian colony. The surnames of Cæsar or Augustus, retained to the possessor, to the heirs or to the colleagues in the empire, affected in vain, with the Roman acceptations, a resemblance which no more existed in the manners. Theological disputes upon the mysteries of religion were become the sole texts of conversation and discussion. The petty factions of the circus were substituted for the great factions of the forum. Luxury, licentiousness of morals, effeminacy, the domination of eunuchs and women in the government, had from reign to reign emasculated the national arm and character. The palaces of Constantinople surpassed in magnificence those of Nero at Rome, and those of the kings at Persepolis. The pomp of public ceremonies took the place of the pomp of triumphs. The very costume of the later emperors, described by St Chrysostom, reminded less of the descendants of Romulus than of the successors of Xerxes.

St Chrysostom's Description of a Byzantine Emperor.—"The emperor," says this writer, "wears on his head either a diadem or a crown of gold, enriched with jewels of inestimable price. These ornaments, together with garments dyed in purple, are reserved exclusively for his sacred person. His robes of silk are ornamented with embroidery in gold, representing dragons. His throne is of massive gold. He appears in public, but surrounded by his courtiers, his guards, and attendants. Their lances, their bucklers, their cuirasses, the bridles and harness of their horses, are of gold, at least to appearance.

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The large plate of gold that shines in the centre of their buckler is encircled with smaller ones, which represent the form of the eye. The two mules harnessed to the chariot of the emperor are perfectly white, and all covered with gold. The chariot of pure and massive gold excites the admiration of the spectators; they contemplate the purple curtains, the whiteness of the cushions, the value of the diamonds and plates of gold that shed their most dazzling splendour when they scintillate from agitation by the motion of the chariot. The portraits of the emperor are painted white upon a ground of azure. The monarch is represented seated upon a throne, arrayed in armour; his horses and his guards are at his side, and his enemies vanquished in chains at his feet."

Condition of the People.—The people had lost under this discipline all remembrance of their antique liberty. Servility was become the glory of the subjects, only corrected now and then by revolt and assassination. Asiatic slavery had passed into the public manners. The princes measured their elevation only by the abasement of their subjects. Such a nation, enslaved to all the caprices of a master, of eunuchs, of favourites, of wives or courtesans, was equally incapable of respecting itself, and of defending itself against the insolence of the barbarians who bordered it. Eunuchs—slaves bred in the most abject offices of the palace—received the command of armies and the titles of patrician, of consul, of father of the country. They had statues raised to them of marble and bronze in the senate—that vain shadow of the Roman senate preserved at Constantinople as a sort of mock palladium of liberty.

"One man," says the historian, indignant at these turpitudes, "auctions, cuts up, retails, vends the Roman provinces from the Euphrates along to Mount Hæmus; another obtains the proconsulate of Asia in exchange for a delicious country residence; a third buys off entire Syria with the diamonds of his wife; a fourth complains of having sacrificed all his patrimony to obtain the

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government of Bithynia. The tariff of all the provinces to be sold to the highest bidder may be seen placarded upon the walls of the palace; and as the eunuch has been sold himself, he would like to sell entire humanity. Such are," adds the writer, "the fruits of the valour of the Romans, of the defeat of Antiochus, and of the triumphs of Pompey."

Irruption of the Barbarians.—A government so venal and so corrupt, encouraged, for the period of two centuries, the barbarians. The Huns ravaged Persia, Attila subjugated Sarmatia and Germany. His hordes advanced to the walls of Constantinople. The emperors purchased their safety with gold instead of purchasing it with blood. They enrolled the Bulgarians, the Goths, the Turks, in the imperial guard, to the end of co-interesting the enemies of the empire in defence of what remained of the empire, by participation of its dignities and treasures. The sea was not more secure to them than the land. Adventurers, Norman and Slavic, sometimes rivals, sometimes allies, of the savage tribes of the Lake of Ladoga, founded subsequently at Kief the Russian monarchy, descended the Borysthenes to the south, and made their entrance into the Black Sea. Novogorod and Moscow, those Samarcands of the north, sprang up from the forests of pine; the fleets of these Cossacks were formed of a cloud of canoes hollowed from the trunks of immense trees. These canoes, bordered with elevated planks, but without decks, carried from forty to sixty warriors with the necessary arms and provisions for the expedition. Two thousand of these canoes, coasting along the Black Sea, used to force sometimes the entrance of the Bosphorus, and come up to the very harbour of Constantinople to impose menaces and ransoms upon the emperors. The Greek fire—that last weapon of the Greeks, of which the secret is lost with them—used to burn in vain their fleets. They sprang up with the ensuing spring like marine vegetations. The Greeks purchased peace by tributes. "Let us be content," the Russian old men used to say to the young ones who

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complained of their consenting to the treaties and tributes of the Byzantines. "Is it not better to obtain, without fighting, the gold, the silver, the silk, the precious stones, of these people? Are we always sure of victory? Can we sign a pact with the billows and the winds of the Euxine?"

It is not known what prophetic presentiment announced already to the Greeks that these mysterious populations, concealed as yet behind the marshes of the Borysthenes, and that those fleets which seemed to descend from the Polar circle, were the menacing usurpers of their Oriental patrimony. An obscure inscription, graven on the pedestal of an ancient equestrian statue at Byzantium, signified, it is said, that the Russians would one day reign over the Greek Empire of Byzantium, of which this bronze horseman took possession long in advance.

Corruption of Christianity by the Greeks.—However, the barbarian and the Greek frontiers were in contact at Nicomedia. The Christian emperors leagued secretly with the Mussulman sultan against the Crusaders come to avenge Christianity. The Crusaders, impelled, against nature, manners, climate, but by a pious folly, towards Palestine, bestrewed with their bones the lands and the seas of the East. They conquered only the sepulchre of Christ. The tide of Islamism, a moment rolled back, returned overwhelmingly upon them. The Greek race, too old and too exhausted to bear a new and a severe religion like Christianity, dissolved it into theological quibbling which was obliged to borrow substance from idolatry. Christianity, vitiated by the Greeks, flourished, on the contrary, in the West, and was doomed to vivify the empire of the successors of Charlemagne.

The faith of the East had found its prophet in Arabia. The Roman race was exhausted at Constantinople; the race of the conquerors was young. It needed but a hero to conduct it from one bank of the Bosphorus to the other in Europe. Othoman was about to appear. Let us resume the history of the patriarch of the Ottomans or Osmanli.

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CHAPTER VI.

OTHOMAN, FOUNDER OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE (1288).

SUPPORTED by the favour and confidence of the Seljukians, Othoman successfully attacked several fortresses on the Greek frontier, which he added to their dominions. Karajahissar, a town which he captured shortly before the death of his father Orthoguel, was assigned to him as a residence, where he was permitted, if not, as some historians relate, to coin money in his own name, to be mentioned in the public prayers, and to assume the title of sultan, yet at least to possess the authority of an independent prince. Here he continued to increase in consequence and power, until the dissolution of the Seljukian monarchy (A.D. 1299), when he had no longer even a nominal sovereign; and from this time he distinctly appears as the founder of a new empire which we shall see rising upon the ruins of the Seljukian and Byzantine dynasties.

Commencement of Othoman's Reign (1299).—Othoman having thus become independent in Sultan-æni, fixed his own residence at Jeni Shehr, and appointed his sons and chief officers governors over the several cities of his narrow territory. The commencement of his reign was stained by the blood of an aged relative. In a council which met to consider the propriety of making an attack upon a neighbouring fortress called Kopri-hissar, Deindar, brother of Orthoguel and uncle of Othoman, who must have been at that time nearly ninety years of age, ventured to oppose the undertaking as a source of needless difficulty and danger; whereupon, as we are told, the arrow of his words was answered by the arrow of the bow, and the uncle sank down a corpse at the feet of the nephew. This may be regarded as an early introduction to the subsequent system of fratricide among the Ottoman princes; and it is remarkable that the Turkish historian,

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Edris, who professes to relate nothing which can reflect disgrace upon the memory of Othoman, records this event without any extenuation or comment. Kopri-hissar and various other fortresses were speedily captured, and repeated advantages were gained over the Greeks. Muzalon, the commander of the Greek body-guards, was defeated, and the victorious Turks ravaged Bithynia in every direction, advancing to the very walls of Nicæa and Broussa, and even as far as Adramyttium, where the emperor was staying. About the same time the islands of the Mediterranean became the scene of Turkish depredations; but it seems probable that these suffered from the followers of the several Seljukian chiefs who shared the dismembered empire, rather than from the arms of Othoman. These leaders, though at variance among themselves, yet united in a series of successful efforts against the common enemy, by land as well as by sea. Cenchrea was taken and burnt; Tripolis on the Mæander, Tyræa, and Ephesus, were pillaged; Lydia was laid waste, and Sardis was compelled for a time to receive a Turkish garrison. A projected alliance with the Khan of the Tartars did not avail to check the ravages of the Turks; and Othoman, not at all intimidated by this formidable threat, pursued his victorious career as far as the coast of the Euxine. While the Ottoman leader was thus victorious in the north, his son Orchan obtained his first success in an irruption into the southern part of his territory. Pleased at the success of the youthful warrior, Othoman assigned to him, in concert with some of his more experienced generals, the conquest of the whole tract of country between the Sangaris (Aiala or Sakaria) and the Euxine, now called Hodja-ili, from the name of one of the generals who assisted in the successful expedition.

Death and Character of Othoman.—Broussa, the ancient capital of Bithynia, was captured by the combined forces of Othoman under his son, after a long and obstinate siege; and the founder of the Ottoman Empire died, with the prospect of finding his grave in a newly-acquired capital, in the seventieth year of his age and the twenty-

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seventh of his reign. As a soldier he was valiant, vigorous, and resolute: he possessed sufficient policy to avail himself of the favourable circumstances of his times and country; and for his liberality and bounty he was beloved by his followers in arms, with whom he laid the foundation of a military and despotic government. The inheritance of Othoman consisted but in the arms of a knight and the utensils of a shepherd. No treasure whatsoever was found in his house at Jeni Shehr. All the tributes that he levied were distributed among his companions. A wooden spoon, a salt-cellar, a vest embroidered in coloured thread, a linen turban, a few yoke of oxen for the plough, some flocks of sheep, and a few Arabian coursers, were his entire wealth. His horses passed to his son, his flocks of sheep in Mesopotamia were transported to Broussa, where the breed has been perpetuated in the property of the sultans, and where they feed still upon the grassy sides of Mount Olympus.

Losses of the Byzantine Empire.—At the period of Othoman's death, the Byzantine Empire had sustained considerable losses in other parts of Asia Minor as well as in Bithynia and part of Paphlagonia, which he had subdued. Ephesus, as has been said, had fallen under the power of the Turks; and so also had Lydia, as far as Smyrna; Magnesia, as far as Pergamus; and Phrygia, both Greater and Lesser.

Orchan (1326-1359).—Othoman was succeeded by his son Orchan. The first remarkable action of his reign was the appointment of his brother Aladdin to share with himself the duties and responsibilities of government under the title of Wezir or Vizier,[1] an office which he discharged in a most efficient manner, assisting the growth of the empire by his internal regulations, while Orchan was adding to his territories by foreign conquests. Prusa (Broussa) having been captured at the close of the preceding reign, the seat of government was transferred to that city, and a series of successes ensued.

[1] This word denotes properly *the carrier of a burden*.

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Laws and Political Regulations of the Ottoman Empire (1328).—Aladdin, after much study and pains, gave a body of laws and political regulations to the Ottoman Empire, in the third year of his brother's reign, which was the hundredth from the first settlement of Orthoguel in Roum. The sources of Ottoman jurisprudence are four in number—viz., the Koran, the Sunna (or the Word of the Prophet), the decision of the Fathers of the Moslem body (the four great Imams), and the Kanun, or collection of supplementary laws and ordinances, the foundation of which was now laid by Aladdin. The design of this latter code is not to supersede or interfere with the three former, but to supply their deficiencies and to adapt them to the existing state of affairs. Much, of course, was to be done by a legislator who had to establish, in the infancy of an empire, such laws and customs as should accord with its genius and accelerate its growth. But Aladdin performed his task in a manner at once masterly and successful. Besides this, he established a mint and coined money in the name of Orchan, appointed the military head-dress or turban, and embodied a standing army. Of these institutions the last was the most important, and one which mainly contributed to the support of the Ottoman Empire; and it took place, we may remark, about a century before the time of Charles VII. of France, who is usually regarded by historians of the Middle Ages as the inventor of that policy. The Turkish horsemen were now made subject to greater discipline than formerly, and to this period we may refer the establishment of the Spahis or cavalry; but the most remarkable of the military arrangements now made was the formation of a regular body of infantry, composed of the children of Christian parents who were forced to embrace Mahommedanism, and of renegades who voluntarily embraced the religion of the Prophet, and abandoned at once their faith and their country.

Capture of Nicæa (1330).—The Emperor of Constantinople, Andronicus the younger, alarmed at the progress of the Ottoman arms, passed over into Asia at the head

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of an army, with a view to make some effectual opposition, but was soon obliged to seek safety in a precipitate flight. Discouraged by this defeat, Nicæa, the remaining bulwark of the empire in Asia, which had long been invested, yielded at length to the overpowering forces of Orchan. This celebrated capital, by the erection of mosques, schools, and hospitals, was speedily made to assume the appearance of a Mahommedan city, and was entrusted to the government of Solyman Pacha. The Turkish name is Iznik. The capture of this city was followed by a new line of Ottoman conquests. Orchan, in imitation of his predecessors, had hitherto directed his arms against none but the Greeks; he now commenced an attack upon the emirs or chiefs who shared among themselves the remnant of the Seljukian dominions. The Emir of Khorasi (the ancient Mysia) was easily compelled to submit; his capital Bergam (the ancient Pergamus) was taken, and the whole territory reduced to the form of an Ottoman province. This conquest was followed by successes in the western regions of Karamania, or the ancient Phrygia; and a long period of tranquillity which followed was not unprofitably occupied by Orchan in adjusting the internal regulations of his increasing dominions; while he cultivated more friendly relations with the court of Byzantium, and is said even to have received the hand of a Greek princess in marriage.

CHAPTER VII.

EARLY CONTESTS OF THE TURKS AND GREEKS IN EUROPE.—REIGN OF AMURATH I.

Before we resume the line of Ottoman history, it may be useful to state the principal occasions on which the Turks came into collision with the Greeks in Europe, dur-

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ing the early period of the rising empire. In the year 1263, a colony of Turks, in number from 10,000 to 20,000, settled on the western coast of the Black Sea; and, not long after, we find the Tartars, who espoused the quarrel of a Seljukian prince, advancing to the very walls of Constantinople. In 1307 a band of 400 Turks (from Aïdin, the ancient Ionia) assisted the Catalans in their hostilities against the Emperor; these, after having ravaged the Chersonesus, and having rendered themselves more or less formidable during seven years, were at length either destroyed or compelled to return to Asia. The first passage of the Ottoman Turks into Europe was in 1321, when they ravaged the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace, and exhausted the imperial treasury. In 1327 Andronicus the elder called in some Ottoman troops to his assistance against his grandson, Andronicus the younger, by whom they were defeated, and afterwards permitted to return to Asia. In 1331 some Turks from Khorasi, who landed in the Hellespont and committed depredations, were driven back by the Emperor, and a similar incursion in the following year terminated in like manner. The first treaty of peace between the Ottomans and the Greeks was concluded between the Emperor Andronicus the younger and Orchan, in the year 1333. Some predatory expeditions of different bodies of Turks are mentioned in the two following years; but in 1336 the Emperor made a league with the emirs of Sarukhan (the ancient Lydia) and Aïdin, by which he engaged their assistance in the siege of Mitylene and of Phocæa, against the Genoese. Orchan, during his peace with the Emperor, suddenly passed over to Constantinople in 1337, with thirty-six ships, with a view to effect a permanent conquest. A vigorous resistance was made by the Emperor and the great courtier, John Cantacuzene, and the invader was repulsed with the loss of nearly all his armament. In 1340 a body of 8000 Ottomans crossed the Hellespont, ravaged Thrace and Mœsia, and returned laden with booty. Peace was again concluded with Orchan, and a fleet despatched by the Emir of Sarukhan

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was repulsed from the Chersonesus by Cantacuzene in 1341. Cantacuzene, now joint emperor with John Palæologus, was laying the foundation of absolute sovereignty and undivided power in the internal dissensions of the empire, and the assistance of the barbarians from without. Umerbeg, Emir of Aïdin, was one of these foreign allies; he passed over into Europe in the year 1342-3, but was bought off by Byzantine gold. He returned, however, to the assistance of his ally in 1345. The marriage of Cantacuzene's daughter with Orchan, in 1346, was the bond of a still more important alliance, which, however, did not prevent him sending succours to the Genoese against the Venetians, who were the friends and allies of the Emperor. This was the commencement of an open rupture, and Orchan now sided with John Palæologus against Cantacuzene. It was at this juncture that the Turks gained the first permanent footing in Europe, on occasion of the capture of a fortress on the coast of Thrace, by Solyman, son of Orchan; and it is remarkable that the record of this event is the first mention which the Ottoman historians make of the passage of the Turks into Europe, disdaining, perhaps, to notice those earlier expeditions which left no permanent trace of victory behind them. Afterwards, at the entreaty of Cantacuzene, Orchan sent a body of forces under Solyman, to assist him against Palæologus, whose troops were defeated, and the Emperor's Turkish auxiliaries returned to Asia laden with booty. At length, in 1357, Gallipoli, the key of the Hellespont, and the great emporium of the trade of the East, fell into the hands of the Ottomans—a conquest facilitated by a violent earthquake, which had shattered the walls of this city, as well as of others on the coast, and left them exposed to the attack of the invader, from whom they were compelled to receive a large colony of Turks and Arabians.

Permanent Establishment of the Ottoman Empire.—The foundation of the Ottoman Empire in Europe was in this manner permanently laid; and from this time the

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Turks made annual inroads into the Greek territories, until they had extended their dominions from the shores of the Propontis to the banks of the Danube. Solyman Pacha,[1] son and vizier of Orchan, fixed his residence at Gallipoli; but death, by accident, about two years after the capture of the city, put an end to his conquests. Orchan survived his son scarcely a year; he died in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign (1359). The annals of this prince are not stained with an account of the murder of his kinsmen, or of other sanguinary transactions; meanwhile the discipline and tactics of the army were materially improved, learning was encouraged, and as a lawgiver and author of the constitution, Orchan is usually regarded as the Numa of the Ottomans. Hereditary claim to the throne was now firmly established; and by the policy of Orchan, who had founded a great number of mosques, colleges, and hospitals, the Ottoman prince was universally respected as the head of the Moslem faith.

Amurath I.—Amurath, the younger son of Orchan, who succeeded his father on the throne, laid the plan of still more extensive conquests in Europe. The series of successful expeditions by which his reign was distinguished began with the capture of various fortresses on the Hellespont. Adrianople, the great bulwark of the Byzantine dominions in Europe, and destined to become the second capital of the Ottoman Empire, soon fell into his hands, through either the cowardice or treachery of the governor; and while Amurath was thus victorious in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, his generals were enlarging the boundaries of his dominions in various parts of Asia Minor and Thrace.

Institution of the Janissaries.—This early part of the reign of Amurath is rendered remarkable by the institution of the celebrated body of infantry called Janissaries.

[1] Pasha, *i.e.*, Pai Shah, the foot of the shah, a remnant of the old institution of Cyrus, who denominated his officers of state the feet, hands, eyes, and ears of the prince (Cyrop. 8, 2). Thus the leaders of the army are called *the feet* of the sultan.

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A great number of Christian captives having been taken by the Turks, Kara Halil Pacha, the prime vizier, recommended the Sultan to appropriate a portion of them to the service of the court and the army. An edict was accordingly issued, by which every fifth captive was claimed for this purpose; officers were stationed at Gallipoli to select and seize the most robust and handsome of the Christian youth; and great numbers of these were secured, who were to be educated in the Moslem faith, and trained as a regular militia to form the strength of the Ottoman army. The corps thus raised was in the next place to be named and consecrated; and for this purpose it was sent to Haji Bektash, a celebrated dervish, who, standing in front of the prostrate ranks, and stretching his sleeve over the head of the foremost soldier, pronounced his benediction in the following manner: "Let them be called Yengi cheri;[1] may their countenance ever be bright, their hand victorious, and their sword keen! May their spear always hang over the heads of the enemy! and whithersoever they go may they always return with a white face!"[2] Such was the original formation of a body of men of desperate character, strangers, at first, to every tie except that of obedience to the Ottoman prince, and contributing, by the introduction of military subordination and veteran experience, to the constitution of a vigorous and irresistible army. The sleeve of the dervish was represented by a tassel hanging down from the back of the cap, in which respect only the dress of the new recruits differed from that of the other infantry; and the name which they had received was speedily conveyed on the wings of victory throughout the wide regions of Asia and Europe. The original number of the corps appears to have been 1000, which was augmented yearly, and subsequently fixed by Amurath at 10,000; it afterwards rose under Mahommed II. to 12,000, under Solyman to 20,000, and under

[1] *i.e.*, New soldiers or recruits, hence, by corruption, Janissaries.
[2] *i.e.*, With praise and honour, as *a black face is* a term of disgrace.

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Mahommed IV. to 40,000. When the extension of dominion had put an end to personal captivity, this body was supplied by a tax on every fifth male child levied on the Christian population of the empire; and at last the children of the Janissaries themselves were enlisted into the service, a regulation which materially contributed to the relaxation of their discipline and their tumultuary spirit in later times. Up to the time of Mahommed IV., that is to say, at the period when the decadence of that celebrated corps began, it was not otherwise recruited, so that the number of Christian children has been estimated to have been not less than 5,000,000, who, in the space of three centuries, were thus converted by force and sacrificed to the barbarous policy of the sultans. It was the most frightful tribute of human flesh that has ever been levied by a victorious religion over a vanquished faith. It gives the measure of the profound imbecility and subjection into which the Christian populations had fallen under the unmitigated despotism of the Moslem conquerors. It may be observed, that by this strange mode of recruiting, the Ottomans found at one and the same time a method of carrying off the most virile portion from the Christian populations, and of doubling the strength of their forces without putting arms into the hands of the conquered. This it is which explains how they were able to set on foot armies of 300,000 to 600,000 men, whilst at the present day, when the Janissaries are no longer in existence, and when the rayahs are unfitted to enter the ranks of the Turkish armies, they have found it so difficult to raise 300,000 men.

Progress of the Ottoman Arms.—After the capture of Philippopolis, Amurath made peace with the Emperor of Constantinople. He then retired to his residence at Prusa (Broussa); but he had scarcely begun to enjoy this period of tranquillity when another European enemy called him into the field—the Kral of Servia, who, when another rash Crusade was proclaimed by Urban V., united with the Kings of Hungary and Bosnia, and the Prince of Wallachia, in an expedition against the Turks. Amurath

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prepared to march in person against this formidable enemy, but having stopped on his way to recover Bigha, in order to secure a route for his return to Asia, a signal defeat was given to the combined forces by one of his generals before he appeared against them. He then pursued a course of victories, during five years, in Thrace, and added various towns and strongholds to his already extensive dominions. These conquests were speedily followed by the capture of several towns on the coast of the ancient Thessaly, and the subjugation of Servia and Bulgaria. Peace having succeeded his European victories, Amurath passed the winter of this year (1375) at his capital, Adrianople, where he enjoyed an interval of six years' uninterrupted tranquillity. He employed the leisure of peace, as well as the operations of war, for the aggrandisement of his empire, which at this time he promoted by the marriage of his eldest son, Bajazet, to the daughter of the Emir of Kermian. About the same time he compelled the Emir of Hamid to part with his territories by way of sale. And thus, of ten portions into which the Seljukian Empire had been divided, three, besides that originally assigned to Othoman, were now subject to the Ottoman power—viz., Khorasi, obtained by conquest under Orchan; Kermian, by marriage; and Hamid, by purchase. Sophia, an important city near the juncture of Mounts Rhodope and Hæmus, was captured in 1382.

Submission of John Palæologus I.—Since the capture of Adrianople, peace had subsisted between Amurath and John Palæologus I., the Greek emperor, the cities which had been subsequently captured not being at that time in immediate dependence on the Byzantine Empire. The Emperor, by his submission and appeal to the court of Rome, had obtained some promise of assistance against his Mahommedan neighbours; but he found that promises were all that he could obtain, and, after his return from a disgraceful visit to the West, in the course of which he had even been arrested for debt, he sent Theodore, his third son, to serve in the Ottoman camp, as a

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proof of his submission, and to conciliate the favour of a power which he found himself unable to resist. About this time, a conspiracy was formed between Andronicus, the eldest son of Palæologus, and Sandshi, son of Amurath, each seeking to wrest the supreme power from the hands of his father. This led to an open rebellion, which, however, was quickly suppressed by the exertions of Amurath. The two conspirators were punished, Sandshi with death, and Andronicus with blindness; but the latter recovered the use of one eye after the infliction of the punishment. Mamal, the second son of Palæologus, having delivered up Thessalonica to the Ottoman arms, which he had brought against himself by a treacherous attempt to gain possession of Pherei (Seres), failing to meet with a reception at Constantinople, where his father was afraid to entertain him, lest he should thereby incur the displeasure of Amurath, threw himself upon the mercy of the conqueror, by whom he was pardoned, and sent to Constantinople with instructions to Palæologus to receive him. This transaction contains another strong indication of the state of dependence and fear to which the Byzantine Empire had by this time been reduced.

War with Karamania.—Encouraged by the death of the celebrated vizier, Chaireddin Pacha, whose wisdom and valour had materially contributed to the success of the Ottoman arms, Aladdin, the Emir of Karamania, who had long been jealous of the conquests of Amurath, commenced open hostilities. This prince was at the head of a section of the ancient Seljukian Empire, inferior in importance only to the Ottoman itself; and he was aided in his enterprise by several other Moslem chiefs, who, like himself, were impatient of the advancing and encroaching power of their neighbour. Amurath marched in person against the enemy, and after a decisive victory on the plains of Iconium, granted peace to Aladdin, who employed for this purpose the intercession of his wife, the daughter of the conqueror. By this signal success the Ottoman power was established in Asia on a firmer footing than ever.

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The Revolt of Servia (1389)—Death of Amurath.—The revolt of Servia, which had lately acknowledged the supremacy of Amurath, and had given effectual assistance to him in his wars in Asia, in conjunction with Hungary, Wallachia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Albania, recalled Amurath into Europe. The Ottoman arms were victorious on the plain of Kossova, but Amurath was mortally wounded towards the close of the engagement by a Servian or Albanian soldier, who gained access to his person under a false pretence, and, having accomplished his purpose, fell covered with wounds in the midst of the body-guards.[1]

The plain of Kossova is marked with three stones, placed at a hundred paces apart; one indicating the tent where Milos stabbed to death the Sultan; the others, the places where he nearly escaped, and the bank where he fell from his horse, massacred by the Janissaries of Bajazet.

CHAPTER VIII.

SERVIA, BOSNIA, ALBANIA, AND BULGARIA.

Remnants of the Byzantine Empire.—Born under the tent of a chief of a horde, Orchan had died master of both shores of the Hellespont, and his successor and followers now dominated Asia Minor, and menaced the crumbling remnants of the Byzantine Empire.

Before considering how these remnants were absorbed into the Ottoman power, it will be necessary to say a few

[1] Ducas relates this event as having occurred before the engagement. The name of the soldier was Milos Cobelitz or Kobelovitch. From this transaction is dated the practice of holding down the arms of ambassadors when introduced to an audience with the Ottoman sultan.

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words relative to the peoples who had already almost entirely ruined that empire, for the Ottomans would not have established themselves so easily in Europe unless that they had learned so far to profit by the destruction wrought by the peoples of Servia, Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria, etc.

The authority of the emperors no longer extended further than to the west of the Strymon and to the chain of the Hæmus on the north. Besides the south, which still belonged to the French and the Venetians, the western and northern provinces, for a long time back occupied by Slave or Tartar nations which had often rendered themselves formidable to the Byzantine Cæsars, had just succeeded, favoured by the discords which weakened John Palæologus and his rival, in tearing themselves definitively from the Greek domination, and Servia, Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria, and Wallachia, formed distinct and independent states.[1]

The Serbs belong to that one of the four branches of the Slave race commonly called the *Illyrian*, and which at the present day peoples Servia, Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, etc. Towards the middle of the seventh century, they occupied the country of the ancient Triballes in Upper Mœsia.[2] Their conversion to Christianity dates from the reign of Heraclius, who sent priests to them; but they were only completely converted under the Emperor Basil, whose suzerainty they acknowledged by receiving a second baptism. Twice subjected by the Bulgarians, they re-entered with them under the domination of the Greeks in 1018, but ere long they emancipated themselves. In 1085 Bodin and Voulkan raised Servia and Bosnia, and took the national appellation of *Schoupans*. Beli-Ourosch, son of Voulkan, entitled himself Grand

[1] The three others are the Zechs or Tchekes, who inhabit Bohemia, Poland, and Russia.

[2] The country of which Novi-Bazar is the chief town is so called. It was celebrated in antiquity and the Middle Ages by the valour of its inhabitants, and by its position hemmed in between Bosnia, Servia, Albania, and Macedonia.

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Duke of Servia, and had for successor (1143) Stephen Nemania, his grandson, who caused himself to be recognised by the Greek emperors as the independent Prince of Servia, and was the founder of a dynasty which lasted three hundred years. Nemania had three sons: Stephen II., who succeeded him (1197); Volkan, Duke of Zenta and Choulm, that is to say, of a portion of Dalmatia and Herzegovina; lastly, Sava, founder of the patriarchate of Servia. Stephen obtained from the court of Rome the title of king. Emeric, King of Hungaria, took offence at it, drove him out of Servia, and immediately took the title of King of Rascie; but the dynasty of Nemania was speedily re-established, and took fresh lustre under Stephen Ourosch III. Finally came the glorious reign of Stephen Douschan (1333), who was very near replacing the Greek by a Serb Empire, rendering abortive the Ottoman power, and thereby changing the destinies of Europe.

Stephen Douschan.—A conqueror and a legislator, this prince was in some sort the Charlemagne of the Serbs. He possessed by himself or by his vassals almost the whole of what was actually Turkey in Europe, that is to say, Servia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Albania, Etolia, etc. He caused himself to be crowned in 1340, at Uskoup, *Emperor of the Romans and of the Triballes*, and conceived the project of destroying the Empire of the East. After having for the first time besieged Constantinople and forced the Emperor Andronicus to ask for peace, he marched anew against that city at the head of 80,000 men, when he died on his way thither (1356).

He had for successor Ourosch V., who did not inherit his sterling qualities, and under the attacks of its vassals, who sought to render themselves independent, the Serb Empire was dismembered. We shall see what it became during the reign of Amurath II., and how the Turks profited by the conquests of the Serbs, who had cleared the road for them towards Constantinople.

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Bosnia.—Bosnia, as has been said, inhabited by a people of Slave race, had followed the destinies of Servia until the period (1085) at which Voulkan made of it a state, sometimes independent, sometimes vassal to the kings of Hungary. It was comprised in the empire of Stephen Douschan, separated itself after his death, formed an independent kingdom in 1376, under the Ban Stephen Tvarko, and finally fell, as we shall see, under the domination of the Turks.

Albania.—The Albanians were of a very ancient race. Feebly attached to the Greek Empire, they had reconquered, in the decadence of that empire, their independence, when they were subjugated temporarily by Stephen Douschan; after his death they resumed their isolation, divided themselves into several small principalities which took part in all the wars of the Serbs against the Turks.

The Bulgarians.—Of Tartar origin, the Bulgarians established themselves, towards the end of the seventh century, in Mœsia, and were for three centuries the terror of the Byzantine emperors. Subdued by John Zimisces (971), and converted to Christianity, they rendered themselves once more independent in 980, and formed a kingdom which was in continual war with the Serbs and Greeks. Basil II. annexed them afresh to his empire. When Constantinople had fallen into the power of the Latins, the Bulgarians regained their independence, and waged a fierce warfare with the Frank emperors. They fell subsequently under the domination of the Serb kings, who accorded them nevertheless their national chiefs. On the death of Stephen Douschan, they again formed a separate state under the Prince or *Kral* Sisman, and followed the Serbs in all their wars against the Turks.

Wallachia.—It only remains to speak of Wallachia. We have before spoken of the origin of the people who call themselves *Roumains*, and who are scattered in the Hellenic peninsula, Hungary, etc. These people, in the tenth century, became tributaries to the Hungarians, etc.

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They regained their independence under Radoul *the Black* (1290-1314), but they soon fell back again under the Hungarian domination. Their princes or Hospodars had numerous friendly relations with the Krals of Servia, and struggled with them against the Ottomans until the end of the fifteenth century.

Thus, it will be seen, that of all these peoples the most important, without contradiction, is the Serb race; in fact, it had absorbed so large a portion of the Hellenic race, that the population which at the present time bears the name of Greek is only composed in reality of Hellenised Serbs. It had mixed itself up with the Albanians; it had given its language to the Bulgarians, who are now blended with it; and it spread almost throughout the Hellenic peninsula. Such a people appeared destined to achieve a great future, but the Slave race founded nothing during the Middle Ages, and the Illyrian branch, brave, poetic, light-hearted, unambitious, without thought for the future, has never lived save for the hour, preserving its primitive instincts, its vagabond habits, not caring to assimilate itself with the remains of the ancient civilisation, in short, being tainted with the defect which has ruined all the Christian peoples of the East—its isolation from Latin unity. It will be shortly seen how this interesting people, to whom the heritage of Constantine seemed predestined, are about to leave it an easy prey to the victorious Osmanli.

CHAPTER IX.

REIGN OF BAJAZET I.—INTERREGNUM.—MAHOMMED I.

Bajazet I.—Three sons had grown up in the palace and in the camp of Amurath. The eldest, named Bajazet, surnamed Ilderim (*the thunderbolt*), was destined to suc-

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ceed him. Amurath, after the example of his predecessors, wished that the dower of his daughter-in-law should be an addition to the empire. He sent to ask the only daughter of the Turkish Emir of Kermian, adjacent to his possessions of Mount Olympus. The Prince of Kermian, flattered by so august an alliance, delivered his daughter to the ambassadors of Amurath. Amurath and his son came from Europe into Asia to receive the bride. Envoys of all the princes—Arab, Persian, Egyptian, Syrian, Turkish, even Greek—presented to the Sultan and to his heir the most sumptuous presents of which Oriental history has retained record: the marvels of Bagdad, the steeds of Arabia, the carpets of Persia, the silks of Egypt, the slaves, male and female, white and black, of Ethiopia or the Archipelago.

Evrenos, the general of Amurath, who had abjured the gods of the Greeks for the Allah of Mahommed, and who was conquering antique Greece for the Ottomans, signalised himself by presents that were the spoils of the islands and the continent of the Adriatic. Two hundred young Greek slaves of his own race, chosen from among the flower of the youth and beauty of Thessaly, headed the procession of his tributaries. Ten of these slaves carried upon their heads golden plates filled with Venetian ducats; ten others, silver plates filled with sequins; eighteen more had golden and silver goblets, to lave the fingers; the rest cups, crystals, Venetian glasses, in which precious stones were encrusted in transparence. All these marvels, which the Ottomans call "satschou" (or *things to be thrown under the feet*), were, in fact, strewn beneath the feet of Bajazet and his affianced. The bride, in turn, placed at the feet of Amurath and of her husband the golden keys of four capital cities of the countries governed by the Prince of Kermian, her father, among which were the keys of Kutaiah, one of the bulwarks of Asiatic Karamania, the city of the seven mosques and the seven baths, of orchards prodigal of fruits, of tufted trees, of tombs of the holy and of the brave, gleaming upon hills through groves of cypress.

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Murder of Yakub Chelibi.—The first act of Bajazet, on ascending the throne of his father, was to cause his only surviving brother, Yakub Chelibi, to be removed by strangling. This was done, say the Turkish annals, in remembrance of the decision of the Koran, that strife is worse than strangling; in remembrance, too, of the evil example that had been set by Sandshi, a recurrence of whose crime it was desirable to prevent; and in imitation of the example of God, who reigns over all things without a partner or rival. These reasons were so highly appreciated by succeeding sultans, that the imitation of the example of Bajazet became a standing law of the empire, whose chiefs thenceforward refused to bear a brother near the throne.

Acquisitions of the Ottomans.—The first warlike effort of Bajazet was directed to the reduction of Servia, and peace was soon concluded with that kingdom, involving on its part the promise of service and the payment of tribute. Fresh progress was also made in the reduction of the Byzantine Empire, on the occasions of the appeals made by its own princes to the Ottoman power for succour or for refuge. Andronicus, the son of Palæologus, who had been punished with blindness, and kept in confinement on account of his former attempt against the authority of his father, made his escape to Bajazet, who assisted him to dethrone the old emperor and his son Manuel, and received the promise of a heavy tribute in return for this service. Not long afterwards, Palæologus and Manuel, having in their turn suffered imprisonment and effected an escape, sought the same means of recovering the throne which had been so successfully employed against themselves; and Bajazet, having received from them a promise to continue the tribute, and to be the faithful allies, or rather the obedient servants, of the Ottoman Empire, restored them on these conditions to the throne of Constantinople, while Andronicus received as his portion the few other cities which remained of the Byzantine dominions. The Servian and Byzantine auxiliaries were employed without delay in an expedition against

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Philadelphia, the last remnant of the Greek Empire in Asia, which had hitherto subsisted under the protection of the Emir of Aïdin, who now came and did homage to the victorious Ottoman. The districts of Sarukhan and Muntesha likewise fell under the Ottoman sway, and thus, of the ten divisions of the old Seljukian Empire,



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seven had now been absorbed in its growing power. Only two retained their independence, namely, Kastemuni in the north, and Karamania in the south; on the latter of which, however, a considerable inroad had been made by the victorious arms of Bajazet.

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Death of Palæologus (1391).—Having effected these important conquests in Asia, Bajazet returned to Europe. Palæologus, having formed a plan of fortifying Constantinople, received from Bajazet a haughty message, requiring him to abandon the project. This was the last indignity which the aged Emperor lived to endure. He died shortly after, and left his son Manuel in possession of the throne. A Turkish cadi was now established in the imperial city, a yami or large mosque was erected, and symptoms of its approaching subjection to Mahommedan sway were evident. The conquests of Bajazet in Europe were rapid and extensive. Bulgaria and Wallachia submitted to his authority, and an inroad was made upon the kingdom of Hungary.

Further Conquests of Bajazet.—About this period, also, we hear of the first equipment of a Turkish fleet; and galleys were stationed at Gallipoli to command the Hellespont and intercept the succours of Constantinople. Meanwhile Aladdin, the Emir of Karamania, having taken advantage of the absence of Bajazet, made an irruption into his Asiatic dominions. The Sultan marched in person against him, and having defeated him in a decisive battle and made him prisoner, added the whole of his territory to the Ottoman dominions. The reduction of this province was speedily followed by that of Kastemuni, and thus the whole of the ancient Seljukian Empire was now merged in the Ottoman.

Great Battle of Nicopolis (1396).—After this conquest, Bajazet repassed the straits, and invested Constantinople by sea and land, but the fall of the city was delayed for the present by the approach of an enemy who diverted the attention of the Sultan. Sigismund, King of Hungary, aided by French and German allies, marched towards the Ottoman dominions with the design of striking a fatal blow at the power of the rising empire, and laid siege to Nicopolis. Here a great battle was fought between the allied armies and Bajazet, September 28, 1396, which terminated in favour of the latter, chiefly in consequence of the indiscreet impetuosity of the French.

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After this signal defeat, Sigismund found protection in the united fleet of Venetian and Rhodian crusaders, and was conveyed safely to Dalmatia. Sixty thousand Moslems are said to have fallen in this action, in revenge for whose death Bajazet murdered his Christian prisoners. The victory of Nicopolis was soon followed by an inroad of the Ottoman forces into Hungary, Bosnia, and Wallachia.

Siege of Constantinople (1396-97).—Constantinople had now been invested during five years and a half by the forces of the Sultan; and the inhabitants, weary of constant alarm, and apprehensive of approaching famine, were beginning to desire a surrender. This was, however, for the present avoided. Manuel agreed to abdicate the throne in favour of John, the son of Andronicus, and to content himself with the Morea; and no sooner had the new Emperor attained his dignity than he procured the removal of the Turkish army by promise of an augmented tribute, with permission for the erection of another mosque in the imperial city, and the admission of a Turkish colony into a part of the suburbs. After this further humiliation of the Byzantine Empire, the dominions of Bajazet received new accessions by extensive conquests. In Asia, his generals pursued a course of victories as far as the Euphrates, while in Europe the Sultan pushed his successes in person, and overran the whole of Greece, to which country, after the ancient manner of Eastern conquerors, he transplanted a large colony of his Asiatic subjects. After the reduction of Greece (1397), Bajazet sent a haughty message to the Emperor of Constantinople, and threatened the city with a second siege; but Timour,[1] at the head of his victorious Tartars, had now become formidable in Asia, and Bajazet left his threats against the imperial city unfulfilled, in order to make preparations to march against his new enemy and conqueror.

[1] Tamerlane, which is the name usually given in Europe to this conqueror, is a corruption of Timourlenk, *i.e.*, *the lame Timour*. His lameness was occasioned by a wound received at a siege in the early part of his military career, according to Sherefeddin.

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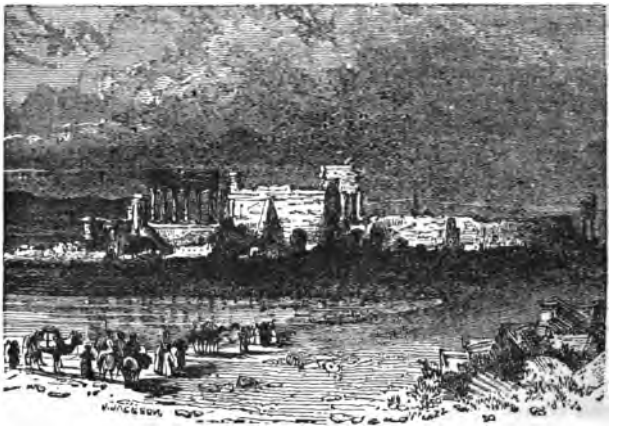
War between Bajazet and Timour (1397).—After so many triumphs, Bajazet had returned to Broussa, where, surrounded by slaves of both sexes, of a rare beauty, he abandoned himself without fear to the most culpable pleasures. The announcement of the approach of Timour, the celebrated chief of the Tartars, aroused him from his voluptuous repose. Timour (*iron*) was the son of Tárágai, whose fourth ancestor, Karashar Nevian, of the noble tribe of Berlass, had been Vizier of Zagatai, the son of Zinghis Khan. Born A.D. 1335, it was his early ambition to become the conqueror and ruler of the world, and his talents were in no slight degree adapted to advance him to this mischievous distinction. At the age of twenty-seven he rendered effectual assistance to the Emir of Khorassan and Transoxana against the Dgètes, who were laying waste his territories, and sapping the last remnants of the Mongolian power of Zinghis Khan. As a reward for this service he received the sister of the emir in marriage; but the premature death of his young wife rent the ties of blood that joined the two princes, and Timour commenced hostilities against his father-in-law, captured his chief city, Balkh, and ascended his throne. Timour chose Samarcand for his new residence, which he fortified with walls, adorned with buildings and gardens, and erected into the capital of his dominions. After various successful expeditions against the Dgètes, and the overthrow of the Shah of Koharesm, Timour's love of conquest and desire of universal dominion could no longer be either repressed or concealed. He declared that as there is but one God in heaven, so there ought to be but one lord on earth. Being now master of Turán, that is, the country beyond the Oxus, he next aspired to the sovereignty of Iran, on this side of that river, where a variety of dynasties had been founded on the ruins of the empire of Zinghis Khan. Having partially subdued Persia and the greater part of Central Asia, he then entered on an expedition, in which, during the course of five years, he completed the subjugation of Persia, captured Bagdad and the fortresses of Mesopotamia, and

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pursued his successes in Armenia and Georgia, and having crossed the Danube, the Dniepr, and the Don, penetrated into Russia and plundered Moscow. His next campaign was into India. He crossed the Indus, September 19, 1398, penetrated to Delhi, the residence of Sultan Mahmoud, which place he captured and burned, and having pursued the retreating natives as far as the Ganges, proceeded on his return to Samarcand. All this was accomplished in the space of a year. The presence of Timour was now wanted in his western dominions, where he was occupied in quelling an insurrection of the Georgians. The Princes of Bagdad and Diabekr (Ahmed and Kara Joseph) sought protection from the vengeance of Timour, first in Syria, and afterwards at the court of Bajazet; a circumstance which served as the proximate cause of a quarrel between Timour and the Ottoman sultan, who had long been jealous of each other's power. Bajazet was roused by the intelligence that Timour had taken Siwas or Sebaste, and besides having exercised great cruelty towards the inhabitants and garrison, had put to death Orthoguel, his favourite son, whom he had captured with the city. Having defeated the Syrian and Egyptian forces in a decisive engagement, Timour made himself master of Aleppo (October 30, 1400), which he gave up to plunder during fourteen days. After Aleppo fell Hama, Hems, and other Syrian fortresses, and Timour proceeded to Baalbec (the ancient Heliopolis), at that time a flourishing city, and thence to Damascus, under the walls of which a decisive battle was fought against the Sultan of Egypt and the Syrian emirs, which terminated in favour of Timour; and the city, notwithstanding a treaty by which the conqueror had promised to accept a stipulated contribution, was reduced to ashes. Bagdad was next destroyed, and 90,000 heads were piled in pyramids before the walls, which was no other than the accustomed monument, on a large scale, of the success and barbarity of the conqueror. After this Timour retired to winter quarters in the valley of Karabagh, on the banks of the Araxes. Here, according to Sherefeddin,

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he received a peaceable and submissive embassy from Bajazet. The Ottoman historians do not admit that the message of Bajazet implied an acknowledgment of Timour's superiority: be this, however, as it may, Timour demanded submission, and promised to wait for an answer, at the commencement of spring, on the borders of Asia Minor. He accordingly proceeded on his march towards the west, and at Siwas was met by the ambassadors of Bajazet, who were charged with a haughty and indignant



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reply. Preparations were now made for deciding the quarrel by force of arms. Bajazet, deaf to the entreaties of his experienced generals, who represented to him the necessity of meeting the superior numbers of the enemy in an enclosed country, resolved to give them battle on the plains. He accordingly marched with an army of 120,000 men, of whom 18,000 were Tartars, and 10,000 Servian auxiliaries, to oppose the forces of Timour, which are said to have been upwards of 800,000 in number.[1]

[1] This engagement is remarkable for the first introduction of military uniforms and cuirassiers, in the army of Timour.

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The two armies met at Angora. Four sons of the Tartar sovereign, and five sons of the Ottoman monarch, commanded in the armies of their fathers. A battle was fought with great obstinacy through a long day, and which at length, by the superior numbers of the Mongol army, and the uncommon skill and admirable tactics of Timour, ended in the total defeat and captivity of the Ottoman sultan. Such was the end of Bajazet's otherwise victorious career, and here too was almost the extreme limit of the wider devastations of his conqueror.

Captivity of Bajazet.—The captivity of Bajazet in the camp of Timour was, according to all historians, of a very mild character at first; and the dignity of a prince, though fallen, was carefully conceded to him. But after the failure of an attempt, on the part of himself or his friends, to effect his escape, the imperial captive was subjected to a more severe kind of treatment, being closely watched during the day, and even secured with chains at night. When the army was on the march, Bajazet appears to have been carried in a kind of latticed or grilled litter, suspended between two horses, such as was used in the East in conveying the harem from place to place. Hence arose the well-known but questionable story of the iron cage, in which Timour is said to have confined his prisoner and carried him about. The Turkish word *kafe*, which signifies a litter of the description above mentioned, does also denote a cage, and this was probably the origin of the mistake that has prevailed respecting the mode of Bajazet's confinement.

Further Successes of Timour.—After the battle of Angora, Mirza Mahommed Sultan, the grandson of Timour, pursued Solyman, the son of Bajazet, who had fled towards Broussa. The speed of the Mongol pursuer was great, but Solyman had quitted Broussa ere he arrived there, and reached the sea-coast in safety, whence he passed over to Europe. The city, however, was pillaged and destroyed; and afterwards Nicæa and other places in Asia Minor were devastated by the Mongols. Timour now sent ambassadors to demand submission and

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tribute from the Emperor of Constantinople, who did not feel himself in a condition to resist the mandate of the victorious Mongol. The Egyptian sultan in like manner submitted; and three sons of Bajazet received as many portions of their father's dominions in return for tributary gifts and promises of allegiance. Timour afterwards laid siege to Smyrna, which he took after a fortnight's resistance. This was the extreme limit of his western conquests. Bajazet died in the camp of Timour on his return towards the east, at Akshehr, where his remains, which the conqueror delivered to his son Mousa, were interred. His large empire was now dismembered. The Emirs of Aïdin, Muntesha, Teki, Kermian, and Karamania recovered their respective dominions; while the remains of the Ottoman Empire were a subject of contention to the three sons of Bajazet—Mahommed, Mousa, and Solyman—whose dissensions were fomented by the policy of Timour. Solyman at first established himself at Adrianople, Mousa at Broussa, and Mahommed at Amasia.[1]

Death of Timour (1405).—Timour survived the captive Sultan only two years. He had returned to Samarcand, where he received embassies from various nations as Lord of Asia, and celebrated the nuptials of six grandsons with unrivalled pomp and festivity; and he had set out towards China, with the view to the conquest of that empire, when he died on his march, at Otra, February 19, 1405, in the seventy-first year of his age and thirty-sixth of his reign.

Interregnum.—Soon after the death of Bajazet, Manuel recovered the throne of Constantinople; John Palæologus, who had retained possession of it during ten years under the auspices of the Ottoman sultan, being now banished to Thessaly. Solyman, having entered into an alliance with Manuel, surrendered to him a considerable portion of the Ottoman conquests in Europe, and remained in-

[1] The Ottoman historians do not give the title of sultan to either Solyman or Mousa, but only to Mahommed, as having eventually retained possession of the throne.

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active at Adrianople, where he indulged in excessive dissipation. He viewed for some time with indifference the struggles of his two brothers, Mousa and Mahommed, for superiority in Asia; but the latter having obtained the victory, Solyman appeared as his rival, and crossed over into Asia to contend with him for the supreme power, whence, however, he soon retreated to Europe, to struggle with Mousa, who, on Mahommed's behalf, had brought the war into the midst of his own dominions. Mousa was quickly defeated, and Solyman was acknowledged at Adrianople, by the European powers, as Sultan of the Ottoman Empire. Here, however, he again sank into extreme dissipation; Mousa speedily appeared at the gates with his recruited army, when he was welcomed by the inhabitants, and Solyman, endeavouring to effect a flight to Constantinople, was overtaken and slain. Mousa being now in possession of the throne of Adrianople, effected some conquests in the Byzantine dominions, and soon after laid siege to the capital. The Emperor Manuel invited Mahommed to his assistance, who came for this purpose to Constantinople, but was quickly obliged to return in consequence of some troubles in Asia. Mousa, however, was soon after compelled to raise the siege, and Mahommed having again advanced against him, he sustained a total defeat and died in flight. An excellent opportunity was at this time afforded to the Christian princes of abridging, if not of entirely annihilating, the Ottoman power in Europe; but the disputes which subsisted between the Greek and Latin Churches, and the troubles of Germany and Italy, prevented them from making a good use of the favourable juncture.

Mahommed I. (1413).—Mahommed had become the undisputed Sultan, and sole master of the empire, but of an empire diminished and fallen. He found his territories reduced, his powers exhausted, the acquisitions of two reigns lost, the nations of which his father and grandfather had been sovereigns reascended to the rank of allies or rivals. To all this must be added, the prestige of the Ottoman name gravely compromised; the confi-

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dence of the troops of Islam, until then invincible, shaken; ill-boding germs of discord and of rebellion left in men's minds by twelve years of anarchy and civil war. Mahommed had therefore much to do to restore the empire to its former grandeur: it was a task which demanded a rare combination of prudence and firmness, and which he was competent to accomplish. Loyal towards his allies, moderate towards his enemies, equitable and clement in his relations with his subjects, he established order and peace interiorly, whilst abroad he preserved a defensive attitude which his successes caused to be respected. Finally, in eight years of his sway he succeeded in effacing the traces of the misrule which had nearly annihilated the Ottoman Empire.

Policy of Mahommed I.—As soon as he was rid of his brother, the Greek emperor, the Princes of Wallachia, Servia, Bulgaria, Epirus, and Achaia, addressed their felicitations to him. He gave a friendly reception to their envoys, and when they took their leave he said to them: "Tell your masters that I send peace to all, and that I accept it from all; and may God chastise the violators of it!" Faithful to his word, he restored to the Emperor the places which Mousa had recently torn from him; he renewed with the Venetians the commercial treaty which they had made with his brother; and he freed the Princes of Wallachia and Servia from all tribute, etc. However, a twofold danger required his presence in Asia—the Prince of Karaman had marched to the attack of Broussa, and Djouneïd, a former lieutenant of Solyman, had again seized upon Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamus, to construct out of them an independent principality. Mahommed first confronted Djouneïd, who sued for pardon, obtained it, and was made, some few years afterwards, governor of Nicopolis. He marched next against the Prince of Karaman, beat him upon several occasions, and forced him to sue for peace (1415).

Hostilities between Venice and the Ottomans.—On his return to Europe, Mahommed despatched an expedition

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against the Duke of Naxos, Lord of the Cyclades, who molested the Turkish vessels in the Archipelago. This duke was a noble Venetian, Pietro Zeno, who summoned his countrymen to his aid, and thence sprang the first hostilities between Venice and the Ottomans. On the 29th of May 1416, a Venetian squadron appeared under the walls of Gallipoli; it displayed in vain a white flag in token that it desired to negotiate. The Turks, unable to believe in an embassy accompanied by so large a fleet, opened fire upon it, but lost twenty-seven vessels, burnt or taken. That war, however, caused by a misunderstanding, was promptly terminated; a treaty was concluded on the 9th of July of that same year, and the solemn ratification of it was made the year following at Venice by a Turkish ambassador, the first who had appeared in Christendom. By this treaty the Ottomans bound themselves not to sail out of the Strait of Gallipoli in armed vessels.

Revolt of the Dervishes.—In the midst of this newly-born prosperity an extraordinary sedition suddenly broke out—a sedition at once democratic and religious, which attacked not only the personal authority of the Sultan, but even the principles of Islamism and Mussulman society. In the environs of Smyrna a sect appeared, the adherents of which preached absolute equality, poverty, community of goods; and seemed, moreover, to adore the same God as the Christians, and to welcome them as brothers. On all sides the rayahs, the poor, the oppressed, embraced the new doctrine, and especially a great number of dervishes. The actual promoter of these strange dogmas was Bedreddin de Siman, a learned jurisconsult and distinguished theologian, who, after having been judge of the army under Mousa, was occupied with judicial functions at Nicæa. He did not, however, place himself openly at the head of the insurrection; his instruments were a Turk of obscure birth, Berekloudje-Moustapha, who took the title of Dédé-Sultan (*father and lord*), and gave himself out as, or fancied himself, a prophet. Associated with him was an apostate Jew,

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named Torlak-Kemali, who, followed by a band of 3000 dervishes, went about the country preaching the doctrine of equality.

Progress of the Revolt.—The headquarters of these sectaries were at Mount Stylarios, opposite Scio, the native place and abode of Dédé-Sultan. There, having mustered to the number of 10,000 strong, they exterminated the first body of troops sent to disperse them, and beat the governor of the province, who had placed himself at the head of another expedition. It became necessary to send a considerable army against them under command of the youthful Amurath, son of the Sultan, and Bajezid Pacha, his best general. After a sanguinary battle, Dédé-Sultan was taken with those of his adherents who had survived. All were put to the sword; men, women, and children refusing, under the extremity of torture, to abjure their doctrine. Ephesus was drenched in blood. The Jew Torlak and his dervishes were afterwards pursued and defeated near Magnesia; that chief with his principal disciple was hanged, and the others dispersed. Finally the army returned to Europe, where the chief focus of the insurrection had next declared itself, Bedreddin having appeared in the mountains of the Hæmus, and had rapidly raised there a considerable force. Defeated near Seres, he was hanged, notwithstanding the reputation he possessed as a learned man, and the high dignity with which he had been invested. Thus ended the revolt of the dervishes, a unique episode in the Ottoman annals, unique even in the history of Islamism, and which has been but very imperfectly noticed in European history; for it cannot be doubted that it involved an attempt of the Christian races to regain their independence.

That revolt was scarcely crushed ere it produced another of a nature wholly different. A pretender to the throne appeared, giving himself out to be Mustapha, the fourth son of Bajazet, who had disappeared after the battle of Angora. The Ottoman historians affirm that this was an impostor. Supported by Marcea, Woïwode of

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Wallachia, and by Djouneïd, for the third time a rebel, he invaded Thessaly. Conquered near Thessalonica, he sought an asylum in that city. The Emperor Manuel, who was the friend and ally of Mahommed, detained him prisoner with his partisans, and received for that service an annual pension of 900,000 aspres.

Death of Mahommed I.—In the spring of the year following (1421), Mahommed, after a journey of some months in Asia, halted at Gallipoli, and died there of apoplexy. He left three sons, Amurath, his heir, who was then at Amasia, and two young princes whom he had commended to the care of his friend Manuel. His courtiers kept his death secret until Amurath could be apprised of it; but a report of his malady having spread abroad, the troops mutinied, demanding to see the Sultan. The order was given them to recross the strait and march to Broussa. The Janissaries thereupon refused obedience. With a view to appease them, the body of the deceased sultan was placed upon a throne behind the windows of a darkened kiosk, whilst a page concealed behind the corpse, with his arms passed through its pelisse, saluted the soldiers with his hands, who defiled without suspecting the trick. They then set out immediately, and learned, on arriving at Broussa, the death of their master and the presence of his successor.

CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF AMURATH II. (1421-1450).

Civil War—Siege of Constantinople.—The reign of Amurath II. opened with a civil war. The Emperor Manuel demanded of the new Sultan that the young princes, whose education had been confided to him, should be sent to his court. He received for answer that it was

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contrary to the law of Islam that the Sultan's brothers should be brought up amongst the *Giaours*. Whereupon Manuel released Mustapha from prison, had him brought to Constantinople, and signed a treaty with him, by which the pretender engaged to restore to the Greeks, Gallipoli, Thessaly, and the shore of the Black Sea as far as Wallachia. A few days afterwards, Mustapha presented himself before Gallipoli at the head of a Greek army. The city opened its gates; from thence, and accompanied by Djouneïd, whom he had named his vizier, he marched to Adrianople, where the sons of Ewrenos and several beys came to join him, as well as a host of irregular soldiers, out of which he formed an army. Amurath, however, had hastened to despatch Bajezid Pacha into Europe, who mustered all the troops of Roumelia,[1] and with them confronted the rebels. But Mustapha, at the moment the battle was about to commence, advanced alone, harangued the soldiers of the Sultan, and at his voice, all passed over to his side. Bajezid was taken and massacred.

Fate of the Pretender Mustapha.—Mustapha already saw himself master of Europe. Assuming the offensive, he passed the strait, and went to establish himself before the camp of Amurath. There he lost several days in hesitation which brought about his ruin. All his cavalry was composed of "akindschis" (*scouts*). Amurath, to seduce them, employed their old commander Michalogli, kept in prison since the fall of Mousa. He was set free and brought into the camp. As soon as he appeared, his old soldiers hastened to rejoin him. At the same time Amurath's vizier had an understanding with Djouneïd, who secretly quitted the camp of Mustapha. As soon as his absence was perceived, all the rest, seized with a panic terror, dispersed, Mustapha himself fleeing precipitately to Lampsacus, and thence to Gallipoli. Amurath followed him closely; he passed the strait by the aid of some Genoese ships, and cast anchor near the same city.

[1] *Roumelia* signifies the country of the Romans, it being the name given by the Ottomans to their possessions in Europe.

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A combat began, and Mustapha, defeated, fled towards Adrianople, halting there only to carry off the jewels from the treasury, and resumed his flight in the direction of Wallachia. He had scarcely accomplished a day's march when his followers seized upon him and brought him back to Adrianople, where Amurath had just arrived. He was hanged upon one of the towers of that city.

Constantinople besieged.—The Greek emperor, on learning this sudden catastrophe, essayed to disarm the resentment of Amurath; but the time for that had passed. The Sultan refused to listen to his ambassadors, and sent them back with the announcement that he would soon follow them. In fact, 20,000 Ottomans soon appeared under the walls of Constantinople (1422). They burned the villages and the harvests, destroyed the vines and olive-trees, and massacred the inhabitants. Then they dug a trench round the city which closed every issue to the besieged on the land side. The promise of a general pillage drew into the Ottoman camp a host of soldiers and adventurers of every kind. Five hundred dervishes repaired thither, led by the Grand Sheik of Broussa, Seid Bochari, who was called *Emir-Sultan;* they claimed, as their share of the booty, the nuns of the convents in Constantinople. After consulting the books of the diviners, the sheik announced that, on Monday, August the 24th, an hour after noon, he would mount his horse, brandish his sabre, shout thrice his war-cry, and then the walls of the city would tumble down. When the day came, he gave the signal for the assault, which was terrible. The fight raged furiously along the entire extent of the ramparts from the Golden Gate to the Wooden Gate. Women, children, and old men alike laboured at the defence; still the struggle lasted until sunset with the same desperation, when suddenly the Turks burned their siege machines and retired. The Greeks attributed their deliverance to the Virgin Mary; and Emir-Sultan himself affirmed, it was said, that when the *mêlée* was at its height of fury, the

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Virgin had appeared on the walls, clad in a violet vestment, the dazzling brightness of which attracted the gaze of all, and that that supernatural intervention had changed the course of destiny.

The Siege of Constantinople Raised (1422).—The raising of the siege may be explained otherwise than by a miracle. Amurath suddenly learned that a fresh revolt had broken out in Asia; that his youngest brother, also named Mustapha, supported by the Prince of Karaman and solicited by the Greek emperor, had taken up arms and had seized upon Nicæa. He instantly despatched troops into Asia. At their approach, the accomplices of Mustapha took him prisoner and delivered him up to the Sultan, who caused him to be strangled.

Freed from this danger, Amurath did not resume his projects against Constantinople, preferring to secure his domination of Asia. He first directed an expedition against the Prince of Kastemouni, which obtained renewed submission from him, the cession of the mines of the country, and the hand of his daughter (1423). Then, the year following, the irrepressible Djouneïd, with numerous bands of adventurers, having taken possession of the principality of Aïdin, Amurath sent an army to chastise him for his many rebellions. Djouneïd being unable to resist the forces directed against him, his brother and son were taken prisoners; whilst he himself, reduced to shut himself up in the fortress of Hypsela, was there blockaded by land and sea by the aid of Genoese ships. He surrendered, stipulating that his life should be spared; but Hamsa Bey, brother of Bajezid, caused him to be strangled in his prison with all his family. Resuming possession of the Aïdin country, Amurath next seized upon the territories of Mentesché, to the prejudice of the nephews of the last prince, who were kept in prison. At the same juncture, the Princes of Tekieh and Karaman having attacked Attalia, both perished under its walls. The territories of Tekieh were reunited to the Ottoman possessions; that of Karaman, diminished by one-half, was left to one of the sons of the deceased

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prince. Thus, of the Turkish states retrieved by Timour there remained only Karaman, very much diminished, Kastemouni, reduced to impotence, and Kermian. Shortly after, the aged Prince of Kermian went to visit Amurath in his European provinces; he was received with magnificence, and, in return, he bequeathed his states to the Sultan, dying in the following year. Finally, upon the Oriental frontier, on the side of Diarbekir, certain tribes of Turkomans being in commotion, Amurath stationed there, as governor of Amasia, Jurked Pacha, one of his beys, who made himself master by treason of the most turbulent of the chiefs, and by their death, secured the tranquillity of the frontiers. Henceforward, the Ottomans having no longer any rivals on the side of Asia, devoted all their efforts on the side of Europe.

Wars in Albania, Wallachia, and Servia.—Amurath intervened at first in a war between the Serbs and the Hungarians, and he thus came to acquire a first station on the Danube, Cœumbatz, at the entrance of the defile of Orsova and Kruschevatz, the central position of Servia (1428). Next, he dealt such blows against the Greeks as were calculated to bring about definitively their ruin. The Ottomans had already made divers efforts to get possession of Thessalonica. John Palæologus, the new Emperor of Constantinople, finding himself incapable of defending that important city, had ceded it to the Venetians. Amurath, irritated, broke with those rulers of the Mediterranean and attacked Thessalonica (1430). The inhabitants were disposed to surrender, but they were restrained by the Venetian garrison, who made a furious defence. After a siege of fifteen days, the city was carried by assault, and sacked, the churches pillaged, and all the population massacred or reduced to slavery. The Venetians again made an unsuccessful attempt against Gallipoli; but they treated, and peace was established.

The Sultan then turned his arms against Albania, Servia, and Wallachia, desirous of becoming master of all the detached provinces of the Greek Empire, before he attacked Constantinople. That inevitably led to the

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Turks being brought in contact with Hungary, and a memorable struggle was about to be engaged in.

Albania.—Albania was shared by two chief dominations; the south, as well as Ætolia and Acarnania, belonged to the heirs of a Florentine adventurer, Carlo Tocci, who had made himself master of them in the preceding century, and those heirs now disputed the possession. So soon as the Ottomans entered their territory, Janina and the principal strongholds submitted, on condition that the inhabitants should preserve their laws and religion. The north was subject to John Castriot, the descendant or heir of the Balsas; he was forced to deliver up his four sons to the Sultan, who, at his death, took possession of the country, and even sent some bands as far as into Croatia.

Wallachia.—At the same period Wallachia changed masters. Wlad Drakul, or *the devil*, overthrew and put to death Dan, his kinsman; he defeated the Turkish troops sent against him, but he only preserved his throne on condition of paying tribute and supplying troops to the Sultan (1431).

Servia.—In Servia reigned Georges Brankowich, a descendant of Lazarus. He was attacked in his turn by the Turks, obliged to submit and to give his daughter in marriage to Amurath. From thence, dragging after him the auxiliary corps of Brankowich and Drakul, the Sultan entered Transylvania, ravaged the country, and carried away 70,000 prisoners (1438). The Kral of Servia having put Semendria, on the Danube, in a state of defence, Amurath demanded from him the keys of that place, and, on his refusal, besieged it, took it, and put out the eyes of the Kral's son, who defended it. Albert, then King of Hungary, went to the assistance of the Serbs, but at sight of the Turks his soldiers fled (1439). An Ottoman army besieged Belgrade in vain during six months; then it penetrated again into Transylvania, and went to besiege Hermanstadt.

John Corvinus Hunyade.—To Albert had succeeded on the throne of Hungary, Ladislas, King of Poland;

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the Woïwode of Transylvania was John Corvinus Hunyade, whose task it was to arrest the conquering march of the Turks during twenty years. That hero, of Roumanian race, had raised himself by his merits to the command of the Hungarian armies. It was to him that Ladislas owed the throne of Hungary, and through gratitude had made him Woïwode of Transylvania. Hunyade hastened to the defence of Hermanstadt, defeated the Turks, killed 20,000, and drove the remainder beyond the Danube. He sent to the Kral of Servia a carriage laden with booty, amongst which were the heads of the conquered Turkish generals, inviting the Kral to join him. A fresh army of 80,000 Turks appearing to arrest his progress, he boldly ventured, with only 20,000 men, to give them battle at Vasag, and achieved a victory fully as complete as the first (1442).

Amurath sues for Peace to Hunyade.—The campaign of 1443, called by the Hungarians his *long campaign*, was still more disastrous for the Ottomans, and raised the reputation of Hunyade to the highest pitch. Amurath was constrained to humble himself. He restored Wallachia to Drakul, surrendered to Brankowich Semendria and his other strongholds, and then sued for peace at the hands of Hunyade. A truce of ten years was concluded (July 1444), which placed Servia and Wallachia under the suzerainty of Hungary.

Amurath abdicates.—To so many reverses was now added the death of Aladdin, the Sultan's eldest son. Disgusted with power, Amurath could not bear up against this last blow. Entrusting authority to his son Mahommed, then fourteen years old, he sought retirement amongst the dervishes of Magnesia, in the government of Sarukhan, with the intention of ending his days in peace.

Battles of Varna and Kassova.—Scarcely had he reached his retreat ere he was drawn from it by an unforeseen event — peace was already violated. The Turkish negotiators of it had scarcely retired, when the Cardinal Cesarini, the papal legate, summoned King Ladislas to tear up the treaty to which he had sworn on

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the Evangelists; the faith that he had pledged to the infidels being, he said, null and void in law. To this summons were added letters from the Greek emperor and Cardinal Condolmieri, commandant of the pontifical fleet, who insisted that the absence of the Sultan should be taken advantage of: a great crusade, they affirmed, had been resolved upon to drive the Turks into Asia. The army of these crusaders was merely composed of German and Italian adventurers, of whom Cardinal Cesarini had taken the command, and the Hungarian forces did not exceed at most 10,000 men. With these feeble resources they proposed to destroy the Ottoman power. Perjury was never more barefaced. It was expected that the Turks would have evacuated the Servian strongholds; then, on the 1st of September 1444, war was declared, and the march of the crusaders, in conjunction with Drakul and the Wallachians, was directed along the Danube. Bulgaria was devastated, and Varna besieged. Suddenly news came that Amurath had returned; the Genoese, won over by the Sultan's gold, had transported his troops from Asia to Europe, and sailing through the fleet of the crusaders, he had encamped four miles distant from the Christian army with 40,000 men. Despite inferiority of numbers it was determined to give him battle. On the 10th of November the two armies found themselves in presence of each other. Amurath, posted in the centre with his Janissaries, caused to be carried before him at the end of a lance the original of the broken treaty. At the first shock Hunyade drove in the left wing of the Turkish army; the Wallachians dispersed the other wing, and penetrated the Sultan's camp. Already Amurath was disposed to flee; one of his beys seized his horse's bridle and implored him to stand firm. At that moment King Ladislas rushed upon the Janissaries, pierced their ranks until he reached the Sultan, whom he struck with his fist, and, at the same instant, his horse fell with him. A Janissary cut off his head, and placing it on the point of a pike, shouted, "Giaours, behold your king!" At this spectacle the

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Hungarians broke their ranks, and their remnants sought shelter behind the entrenchments, whilst John of Hunyade and the Wallachians took flight. Next day the Turks carried the Christian camp by assault, the defenders of which were massacred, and amongst the number was the legate Cesarini.

The victory of Varna permitted Amurath to resume the projects of the Ottomans against the remnants of the Byzantine Empire.

Remnants of the Byzantine Empire.—The Emperor Manuel had divided those remnants between his seven sons: the eldest, John, possessed only Constantinople and its environs; two others—Constantine, who was the last Emperor of Byzantium, and Thomas—possessed the Morea, Thebes, and a part of Thessaly. Foreseeing the attack which threatened them, Constantine and Thomas caused the ancient fortifications of the Isthmus of Corinth to be restored. But, after having imposed his alliance on the Duke of Athens (one Neri, a Florentine), Amurath advanced to the wall of the isthmus, besieged it, breached it with his cannon, and carried it by assault. That obstacle once overthrown, Corinth was taken and burnt, and the Peloponnesus sacked without mercy. The two Palæologi obtained peace on condition of paying tribute.

Scanderbeg.—That facile expedition terminated, Amurath turned his efforts against Albania, which had grown restless. There had arisen a new Hunyade, who was destined to become no less celebrated than the Hungarian hero. George Castriot was the youngest of the sons of John Castriot, despot of northern Albania, or more strictly of the canton of *Mirdita*. It has been already said that Castriot had been forced to pay tribute and give his four sons as hostages. The three eldest died poisoned, it is stated; the fourth, George, obtained the Sultan's favour; and when Mirdita, after John's death, had been annexed to the Ottoman Empire, he obtained the command of 5000 men in the army of Amurath, in which, on account of his impetuous valour, he was known

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by the name of "Iskender Bey" (*Lord Alexander*), a name which Europeans have transformed into *Scanderbeg*. The favours of the Sultan did not make him forget his religion and country, and in 1443, after the first battle of the *long campaign*, he resolved to abandon the infidels. He presented himself before a secretary of the Sultan, forced him, with his dagger at his breast, to sign an order addressed to the commandant of Croïa, to give up that place into his hands; he then killed the secretary and fled into Albania. Collecting together a band of 600 partisans in the environs, he effected an entrance into Croïa, opened the gates, and massacred the Turkish garrison. This was the signal for a general insurrection; the Ottomans scattered through the villages were put to death, the garrisons of the towns compelled to surrender, and in thirty days Scanderbeg found himself master of Albania; all the Christian princes and nobles of the country acknowledging him as their chief, and each furnishing him with his contingent. From 1443 to 1447 three armies were sent against him and successively defeated; a fourth began its march, stronger than those preceding; it was also beaten, and the Ottoman general taken with his principal officers. Amurath then resolved to take the direction himself of a decisive expedition, for which preparations were made in the following year (1448); but, at that epoch, the war recommenced with Hungary.

Campaign of Hunyade in Servia (1449).—Hunyade, with an army of 24,000 men, invaded Servia, ravaged the country, and directed his march towards the plain of Kassova in order to descend into Macedonia. Amurath mustered all his forces, and with more than 150,000 men, awaited his coming on that celebrated plain where the destinies of the Hellenic peninsula are decided. It was agreed that Hunyade should be joined by Scanderbeg and an Albanian army; but instead of awaiting them, he resolved at once to fight. Thereupon a terrible and unequal struggle took place, which lasted three days. Betrayed by the Wallachians, and taken in the rear by a

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portion of the Turkish army, the Hungarians defended themselves during the entire day; but when night came, Hunyade, despairing of success, fled, and his soldiers dispersed. There alone remained on the field of battle the German auxiliaries with the artillery; that handful of men recommenced the fight on the morrow until they were annihilated.

In the following spring Amurath entered Albania with his immense army of Kassova. He took Sfetigrad and Dibra; but he lost before those two mean strongholds 20,000 men, and was compelled to put off the siege of Croïa until the year following (1450). The place made an heroic resistance; at the same time Scanderbeg, with 8000 men, kept himself within a mile of the besiegers, and harassed them by incessant attacks. The Sultan tried to corrupt the commandant of the garrison; he attempted to negotiate with Scanderbeg; both alike repulsed his overtures. At length the siege was raised. Amurath had scarcely returned to Adrianople ere he died of apoplexy (9th February 1451).

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BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

THE SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE, AND FALL OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

Mahommed II.—The successor of Amurath II., scarcely in his twenty-second year, was consumed and carried away by a restless ambition. From the moment at which he had seen power escape from his hands, on his father reassuming the authority with which he had briefly invested him, he had champed the bit at Magnesia. When, therefore, news of his father's death reached him in his banishment, he sprang into the saddle shouting, "Who loves me will follow me!" and in two days he arrived at Gallipoli. He was the stamp of man to hurl the already crumbling empire of Byzantium in the dust.

Mahommed received at first the ambassadors of the Emperor, the chief of whom was Constantine Dragozès, the defender of the Morea, who, in the year preceding, had succeeded to his father under the protection of Amurath. He testified to him his pacific intentions, and even engaged to pay a pension of 300,000 aspres for the maintenance of Solyman's grandson, who was kept captive at Constantinople. He then renewed the treaties existing with all his Christian allies, concluded with the envoys of Hunyade a truce of three years, and crossed over into Asia to make war upon the Prince of Karaman. Whilst he was occupied in that direction, Con-

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stantine, who had not received the promised pension, had the imprudence to claim it, adding that, if it were not paid, he would set his prisoner at liberty. Irritated at that menace, Mahommed thenceforward thought only of making an end of Constantinople. He returned to Europe, and to starve out the city and cut it off from the Black Sea, he ordered to be built upon the European shore of the Bosphorus, in the narrowest part, facing the fortress constructed by Mahommed I. in Asia, a formidable stronghold, to which he gave the significant name of Boghazkesen (*cut-throat*), now called the "Castle of Europe." Three thousand workmen, protected by an army, were employed in its construction, which was finished in three months under the eyes and direction of the Sultan. Every ship passing within reach of the batteries of this castle was compelled to pay tribute, and a Venetian vessel which refused was fired upon and sent to the bottom (August 1452).

The situation of the magnificent city of Constantinople, so long the favourite abode of the Emperors of Rome, was at the period of the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, when the powers of artillery were only partially developed, such as rendered it all but impregnable. Seated on a promontory, it was accessible on one side only by land, and everywhere it was surrounded by lofty walls. If completely garrisoned and provisioned, it was capable indeed of holding out against the most overwhelming force for a great length of time. Bajazet had long determined on the reduction of this important place, but it did not fall to his lot to achieve it.

The Emperor, terrified at the tidings of the Sultan's preparations, despatched a humble embassy to Mahommed, offering to pay him tribute, and entreating him to spare the country round about, which supplied Constantinople with provisions. The only answer the Sultan gave was to order his spahis to feed their horses upon the crops of the Greeks; and some few days after, a quarrel arose between the soldiers and the peasantry, which proved the beginning of the war. The Emperor sent a last message

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to Mahommed—"Since neither oaths, nor treaties, nor submissions can secure peace, proceed with hostilities." And he ordered the gates of the city to be shut, and thought only of taking the best means for its defence.

Preparations for the Siege of Constantinople.—Mahommed, on his part, returned to Adrianople in order to make preparations for the siege. His ardour and restlessness were so great that he was unable to sleep, and his days were wholly occupied in discussing with his generals the means of taking the city. During the erection of the castle on the Bosphorus, a Hungarian ironfounder, named Orban, constructed the most enormous cannon of which history makes mention. This gigantic machine projected granite balls twelve palms in circumference and weighing twelve quintals; it required 700 men to move and serve it. Other pieces of less calibre were afterwards cast, and troops were mustered from every point of the empire. A fleet of 400 sail was equipped and placed under the orders of the Bulgarian renegade Baltaoghli.

Meanwhile the greatest confusion prevailed in Constantinople. On an estimate being taken of the entire military force, it was found that only 4973 men were efficient. To these were added 2000 foreigners and 500 Genoese who arrived in two galleys, commanded by John Longus Justiniani. As there were no ships, the Christian vessels which arrived from the Archipelago were retained for the defence of the city; but there were only fourteen of these in port. The walls, unrepaired for centuries, having crumbled into ruins, were hastily renovated. The Emperor sent all over Europe to solicit reinforcements; and, in the hope of interesting the West in his cause, he announced his firm resolution of terminating the schism existing between the two Churches. "But," says Æneas Sylvius, "Christianity was a head without a body, a republic without magistrates, the Pope nothing more than a dazzling phantom." Instead of sending an army to "the last heir of the last spark of the Roman name," a papal legate was despatched to

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accomplish the reunion of the Churches. A solemn assembly took place in the church of St Sophia on the 12th December 1452; the legate celebrated mass; the Emperor and all the court being present. But the monks, the clergy, and all the people revolted against such acts, which they looked upon as sacrilege. At the head of the most fiery among the orthodox stood the Greek patriarch Gennadius and the Grand Admiral Notaras, who declared that they would rather see in Constantinople "the turban of the sultan than the cardinal's hat." All the energy of that degraded people seemed reserved for those miserable discords. No efficacious succour came from the West. The princes of the Morea and the isles of Greece kept themselves aloof, and the Genoese of Galata entered into a treaty of neutrality with the Sultan. It is true that, in spite of this treaty, they assisted the besieged in various ways, which made Mahommed swear that "he would crush the serpent after he had slain the dragon." The defence was despaired of on all hands; all were convinced that the fatal hour had come. Among other sinister predictions there were found, it is said, in the convent of Mount Athos, two prophetic tablets attributed to Leo *the Wise*, containing a list of emperors and patriarchs; the names of the existing emperor and patriarch being wanting. It was related also that an old woman had told John of Hunyade, after the defeat of Kassova, that the reverses of the Christians would end when Constantinople should have been destroyed by the Turks. All these predictions, passing from mouth to mouth, had the effect of depressing men's minds.

Investment of Constantinople.—Such was the state of the city when, in the month of April 1453, 200,000 Osmanli invested it on the land side. It was the twelfth time that it had been besieged by the Mussulmans; firmly convinced, as they had ever been, that the city was destined to belong to them—for Mahommed had promised it to them. Sheiks and dervishes in numbers traversed the ranks of the Ottoman army, and animated it by their predictions. The most famous among them,

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the Grand Sheik Akjemseddin, discovered the bier of the standard-bearer Eyoub, killed during the third siege: a tomb had been erected to his memory, over which later on a mosque had been built. This incident, which appeared miraculous, contributed powerfully to exalt the fanaticism of the besiegers. The great cannon arrived drawn by fifty pair of oxen, supported in equilibrium by 400 men, and preceded by 250 carpenters and pioneers. It was pointed at first against the Caligaria Gate (now called *Egri Kapouci*); afterwards it was moved to the St Romain Gate, which still retains the name of the Gate of the Cannon (*Top Kapouci*). On either side of it were planted two pieces which discharged balls weighing six quintals: fourteen other batteries shook the rest of the walls. The monster gun, however, did not render all the service expected from it; it took two hours to load and an enormous quantity of oil to lubricate it after each discharge, to prevent its bursting. It could only be fired eight times in the course of a day. At the end of a few days it burst and killed its inventor.

However, animated by the example of the Emperor, who fought in person on the ramparts, and by the indefatigable activity of Justiniani, the defenders of the city performed prodigies: they filled up every night the breaches made during the day; raised new ramparts and dug new ditches. The Turks made little progress; they were not yet skilled in the handling of artillery. It was the renegades who taught them how to promptly open a breach by aiming alternately to the right and left, then in the centre, in the wall-space already shaken. They had constructed a wooden tower covered with a triple casing of skins, and provided with drawbridges to approach the battlements on a level; but this huge machine was burned.

The Naval Combat.—At the end of April, five ships, one Greek and four Genoese, appearing in sight of the harbour, the entire Ottoman fleet sailed out to meet them, and a sea-fight took place near the shore. Notwithstanding the disproportion of their force, the Christians threw

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themselves resolutely into the midst of the Turks. From their lofty decks, they rained upon the low vessels of their foes such a hail of projectiles and torrents of Greek fire that the Turkish fleet was thrown into disorder, several vessels fouled one another and sank to the bottom. Mahommed, who witnessed this disgraceful defeat from the shore, wished in his furious rage to have urged his steed into the sea in order to chastise the unskilfulness of his sailors. At length he saw the five ships sail right through his whole fleet and enter the harbour, the chains of which were fastened behind them. He revenged this affront upon his admiral. He caused him to be loaded with chains, inflicted a hundred blows of the bastinado with his own hand, and then deprived him of his possessions and sent him into exile.

This check made the Turks aware that they could make no progress so long as the city should be at liberty sea-ward, the Greek ships being masters of the Golden Horn and even of the Propontis (Sea of Marmora). It was then that Mahommed, despairing of forcing an entrance to the harbour, conceived the singular project of conveying his vessels therein by land. The Turkish fleet closed the Bosphorus at Beschiktasch. A road was made for it behind the hills of Pera to a distance of two leagues, by St Dimitri and Khalskoei. This road was covered with planks plentifully greased, and, during a single night, seventy galleys, of two, three, and five benches of rowers, were dragged by thousands of men and horses across the hills and valleys in the Golden Horn, in front of the gates now called Balat and Haïwan. On each galley, the captain "stood at the fore, the pilot abaft; the sails were loosed to the wind, the trumpets sounded, the drums beat, and, at daybreak, the besieged beheld with as much surprise as terror more than seventy vessels cast anchor in the centre of their harbour." They made, it appears, no attempt to hinder or trouble the strange manœuvre of the Turks.

As soon as night came, Justiniani attempted to burn the Turkish fleet; but he was betrayed by the Genoese

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of Galata, who, during the entire siege, played a double part: the vessel on board of which he was, sank to the bottom; his companions were taken or drowned, he alone saving himself with much difficulty. The Turks then constructed a pontoon in the harbour, from which they cannonaded the walls.[1] The Greeks attempted to burn this pontoon and the enemies' vessels, but that enterprise failed like the preceding: forty picked Genoese to whom it was entrusted were put to death next morning in sight of the besieged; whilst the latter, by way of reprisals, placed upon their battlements the heads of two hundred Turkish prisoners.

Pressed by land and sea, the city was in a desperate situation. Its slender garrison was weakened, decimated by six weeks of furious struggle, and, further, it was forced to divide itself to offer resistance at two points simultaneously. An enormous breach had been opened at the St Romain Gate; the wall on the side of the harbour could not offer a long resistance. Mahommed sent a message to the besieged, promising, if the city capitulated, life and liberty to the inhabitants, to the Emperor peaceable possession of the Morea. Constantine preferred rather to bury himself beneath the ruins of his capital.

The Assault and Fall of Constantinople.—On the 24th of May the Sultan announced a general assault for the 29th. The Ottoman camp immediately presented the aspect of a fête; the soldiers of the fleet, who had been thrown into prison after their defeat, were set at liberty; the Janissaries were promised the pillage of the city, *timars* and *sandjaks* to those first to scale the ramparts; the dervishes visited the tents to reawaken the fanatical ardour of the Moslems. When evening came, the whole of the fleet and camp were illuminated; Constantinople saw itself surrounded by a belt of fire; on all sides the noisy clamours of the foe were heard, and the cry a thousand times repeated, "God is great, and Mahommed is His prophet!" From the heart of the mourning city the only

[1] Von Hammer, vol. ii., p. 409.

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reply to that cry were groans and prayers: "*Kyrie, eleison!* Lord, have mercy upon us!"

However, the last days were employed in repairing the breaches, in reconstructing the ramparts, in digging ditches behind those which had disappeared. In the night between the 28th and 29th the Emperor took the communion in great pomp at St Sophia, and then went to his post at the gate of St Romain attended by his staff. At daybreak the attack began. The Sultan, in order to tire out his adversaries, sent forward at first his worst troops: their bodies soon choked the ditches. Towards ten o'clock the besieged still sustained the struggle without advantage, when Justiniani, wounded in the hand, retired in spite of the supplications of the Emperor, and his retreat caused discouragement among those around him. However, the example of Constantine reanimated them, and the fighting was renewed; when suddenly a cry of alarm arose, "The Turks are in the city! the city is taken!" The Wooden, or Circus Gate, walled up for two centuries past on account of an ancient prophecy, had been reopened the previous evening for the purpose of a sortie, and by that fifty Turks had gained an entrance and took the defenders of the breach in the rear. All were dispersed immediately, and every one fled towards the harbour. The Emperor ran to the Caligaria Gate, and reached it at the moment when the assailants broke their way through it; he rushed in desperation among their ranks and fell beneath the sabre of a Janissary.

Meanwhile crowds rushed precipitately towards the harbour, seeking refuge in the Greek and Genoese vessels. Some succeeded in thus saving themselves, but the guards shut the gates towards the sea and threw away the keys. The torrent of fugitives then flowed back towards the centre of the city, and the greater number hastened to shut themselves up in St Sophia and the other churches. The Turks soon followed them, and broke open the doors with axes. Then commenced scenes of pillage, profanations, and excesses of every kind.

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There was, however, very little bloodshed, except during the first excitement of victory. Men, women, and children were tied together in couples, and driven towards the ships. The pillagers then spread themselves through the streets, entered the houses and palaces, carrying off enormous booty. The Sultan had said to his soldiers on the previous evening: "The city and its public edifices belong to me; but I give up to you the captives and the booty—the precious metals and the beautiful women: be rich and happy."

Thus fell Constantinople, after eleven centuries of existence. Its fall, after the Empire of the East had been divided into a multitude of hostile states, was inevitable; if it had not taken place sooner, that was probably solely owing to the respect with which it still inspired the barbarians, who threatened for ages that last remnant of the Roman Empire. In reality that event only put an end to a name, to a title of empire: it even renewed the existence of the city of Constantine. It was, however, through its consequences an entire revolution. It swept away the last obstacle in the path of Islam, inimical to that faith establishing itself in Christendom. It gave definitively the triumph to the East in its struggle against the West; it seemed to menace Europe with the fate from which it had escaped eighteen hundred years back by the victories of Salamis and Marathon; it gave up the Mediterranean, that sea of civilisation, to Oriental barbarism. Europe was struck with consternation at it; she felt herself sullied with a great shame, and at the same time menaced with a great danger. She dreaded the intrusion of a people foreign to her religion, to her manners, to her mind; who, until that dark day, had been only encamped upon her soil, but who now appeared to be definitively settled upon it. What would have been her alarm if she could have foreseen the interminable embarrassments which that barbaric domination should one day raise up in her bosom, and the infinite dangers with which it threatens the future!

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CHAPTER II.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE CONQUEST OF BOSNIA.

Condition of the Greeks after the Conquest.—Mahommed entered Constantinople towards noon by the breach in the St Romain Gate. Surrounded by his body-guards and vizier, he went straight to St Sophia, on the ancient and magnificent architecture of which he long gazed with admiration. Seeing a soldier break off some mosaics from the walls, he stretched him at his feet by a blow of his sabre. By his orders, a muezzin, from the summit of the ensanguined steps of the sanctuary, summoned the Mussulmans to prayer; and thus was inaugurated the reign of Islam in his new capital.

He caused a search to be made for the Emperor's body, which was recognised by his purple buskins ornamented with eagles of gold. Though Constantine Palæologus had fallen while bravely fighting in defence of his crown, his head was exposed upon the square of the Augusteon, at the foot of the equestrian statue of Justinian; and thence it was sent into the provinces. About 2000 of the inhabitants were put to the sword; many thousands more were sold into slavery, or sought a refuge in other lands; and the vacancy thus created was supplied by a Turkish population. The former metropolis of the Christian world thus assumed the appearance of an Eastern city, and the wish of Sultan Bajazet I. was at length accomplished—to obtain possession of Constantinople, and "to convert the great workshop of unbelief into the seat of the true faith."

On quitting St Sophia the Sultan had made his entry into the Blaquernes palace, the last residence of the emperors, and, whilst traversing its deserted halls, he recited, in a sorrowful voice, that distich of a Persian poem, "The spider establishes itself as custodian in the

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palace of emperors, and the owl makes its imperial halls echo with her lugubrious hooting." Next day he celebrated his triumph by orgies, which were followed by bloody executions. The Grand Duke Notaras, honoured at first with marked favour, was put to death with all his family; his crime being the refusal to deliver up his youngest son to the harem of the Sultan. A great number of distinguished Greeks whom Mahommed had pardoned on the evening previous, were also handed over to the executioner—the Venetian *bayle*, an envoy from the King of Aragon, being included in that massacre.

However, at the end of three days, those scenes of violence and disorder ceased; the fleet and army withdrew laden with an immense booty; the Sultan thought about rebuilding, repeopling, and reorganising that which he had devoted to destruction. The capture of Constantinople had spread consternation amongst the ancient portions of the Byzantine Empire. "All Greece felt itself struck by that disaster. In the Morea and in the isles men fled without knowing whither to go. The sea was covered with vessels and barks carrying away the families and the wealth of the Greeks. The mountains, the monasteries, the isles occupied by the Genoese and Venetians, served for refuge." "It was," say the chroniclers, "a dispersion like that of the Hebrews after the capture of Jerusalem."[1]

In consolidating his new empire, however, Mahommed was guided by politic and enlightened counsels. To entice back the fugitive Constantinopolitans, the free exercise of their religion, the conservation of their possessions and the customs of their ancestors, was proclaimed by a firman; the Greek clergy and learned men were treated with indulgence; the patriarchate was allowed to subsist; and Gennadius, the head of the party which had opposed a union with the Latin Church, having been elected to that dignity by an assembly of the chief citizens, was confirmed in it by the approbation of the

[1] Villemain, "Essay upon the Condition of the Greeks after the Mussulman Conquest."

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Sultan. He himself assisted at the ceremony, and conferred on the newly-elected functionary a pastoral staff, studded with diamonds, emblem of the double authority, civil and religious, which he was called upon to exercise over his countrymen. The renewal of the patriarchate gave rise to that remarkable population of Greek nobles called Phanariots, who attained a considerable share of wealth and independence. In spite, however, of these measures, a void was still left within the walls of Constantinople, which Mahommed was employed several years in filling. As his conquests proceeded, he drafted to the metropolis families from Servia and the Morea; the Genoese colonies on the Black Sea, as well as Trebizonde, Sinope, and other places, were with the same view deprived of a considerable portion of their inhabitants, and even Adrianople was compelled to contribute its reluctant quota of citizens to the new seat of Turkish Empire.

The lands of great Greek families were confiscated and transformed into *timars*, but those of the rayahs remained in their possession, and, apart from the numerous extortions to which the conquerors subjected them, they were liable also to the impost called *kharadj*, a double capitation tax. Each commune was governed by its *primats*, magistrates elected whose principal function was to apportion the *kharadj* amongst all the inhabitants, as well as the other taxes.

The Conquest of Servia.—"The conquest of Constantinople," says a Turkish historian, "was the key which opened the lock of many difficult things." In fact, it will be seen that all the conquests marked out under the preceding reigns were accomplished with an astonishing facility under Mahommed; that Greece, Wallachia, Servia, Bosnia, Albania, the Crimea, and the principal isles of the Archipelago, were completely subjected, and that the Turkish Empire attained very nearly its definitive limits in Europe. This rapid development of the Ottoman power was the work of less than thirty years. It was certainly by the highest methods of statesmanship and

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military organisation that a small tribe of Turkomans extended their empire from the Danube to the Euphrates, from the Caspian to the Indian Ocean.

The return of the Sultan from Adrianople was marked by the punishment of his vizier, Khalil Pacha, the great-grandson of Khalil Djendereli, vizier of Amurath I. Convicted of connivance with the Greeks during the siege of Constantinople, he was flung into prison, and then put to death. The post of vizier remained vacant for more than a year, a solitary fact in the sequel of Ottoman history; it was conferred the year following upon Mahmoud Pacha, the son of a Greek father and of a Serb mother, and it was the first instance of those Hellenes becoming Mussulmans, who have, almost without interruption, governed the empire of the Osmanli.

War against Servia (1454).—Mahommed received the felicitations and the tributes of the Asiatic princes, of the Genoese of the Archipelago, of the Greeks of Trebizonde, and of the republic of Ragusa. Then he carried his arms against the most powerful of the dismembered states of the East—Servia (1454); he seized upon Ostrowitz, miscarried before the fortress of Semendria, and left an army of 30,000 men to occupy the country. The Kral Georges, assisted by Hunyade, defeated that army and obtained a truce by means of a tribute of 30,000 ducats. The year following the war recommenced, and the Turks took possession of Novoberda.

Siege of Belgrade (1456).—At length, in June 1456, an army of more than 150,000 men, commanded by the Sultan, traversed Servia and laid siege to Belgrade. Three hundred pieces of artillery, many of which were of monstrous calibre, thundered against the ramparts; a flotilla of 200 small vessels intercepted the navigation of the Danube, above and below the city. Unmindful that his father had failed before Belgrade after a six months' siege, Mahommed vaunted that he would reduce that place in fifteen days; but a crusade was preparing in Hungary by the preaching of the Franciscan John Capistrano, of Roumanian race. Hunyade with an army threw himself

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into the place; he destroyed the Turkish flotilla, and successfully repulsed the assaults. At last a vigorous sortie, commanded by Capistrano, threw the Ottoman camp into disorder, and determined the raising of the siege; the Sultan withdrew, himself wounded, and taking along with him a hundred carts filled with the wounded, leaving under the walls of Belgrade 24,000 dead and all his artillery. The two saviours of the city shortly survived their triumph. Hunyade succumbed at the end of fifteen days; Capistrano three months after.

Subjection of Servia.—Notwithstanding this great success, Servia remained occupied in part by the Ottomans; the succour brought by the Hungarians was repugnant to her, on account of the hatred she bore the Latin Church. Meanwhile Prince Georges died; his youngest son Lazarus seized upon his power, but kept it only two months. He left two brothers, both blind, and a sister, the widow of Amurath, who disputed the heritage for three months, and then took refuge with the Sultan. Whereupon the grand vizier, Mahmoud Pacha, invaded Servia, seized upon the strongholds on the Danube, carried his devastation as far as Hungary, returned to besiege Semendria and took it on the 8th November 1459. In two years the conquest of Servia was completed, and that country, which had had so glorious an existence, which seemed called to such great destinies, was reduced to a province of the Ottoman Empire.

Subjection of the Morea.—At the same period was consummated the subjection of Greece. Demetrius and Thomas Palæologus, brothers of the last Greek emperor, disputed for possession of the Morea, and each had to struggle against his own subjects and the attacks of the Albanians. They were only maintained in the country by the protection of the Sultan, to whom they paid tribute.

Early in 1458 Mahommed himself sailed into the Peloponnesus at the head of an army; he seized upon Corinth, intimidated, by his cruelties, the other cities, which surrendered without resistance; dispossessed Thomas, and left merely the rest of the Morea to his brother on

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condition of an exorbitant tribute. He had scarcely retired, when Thomas took up arms at once against the Turks and against his brother; and that unfortunate country was delivered up by all parties to the most frightful devastation. Demetrius ended by throwing himself into the arms of the Turks; he accompanied even the Sultan, who in person returned to terminate that terrible war. Mahommed caused to be pitilessly massacred the inhabitants of every city which attempted to resist him, inflicting upon the chiefs of such places the most refined torments; and when he at length retired, he left nothing behind him but ruins. Modon, Pylos, and a few strongholds which belonged to the Venetians, alone escaped the Turkish barbarities. Thomas fled into Italy; Demetrius was banished to Enos; finally, the last Duke of Athens, Franco Accajuoli, having been strangled, the Turks ruled undividedly all the Greek peninsula (1460). During this time an Ottoman fleet of 184 sail traversed the Archipelago. It put to ransom Lesbos and Chios, occupied by the Genoese, and subjected Imbros, Thasos, Samothrace, etc.

War against Scanderbeg.—Another war in Europe occupied the Ottoman armies—the war in Albania, the success of which was destined to be neither so prompt nor so easy. Since the accession of Mahommed II., Scanderbeg had sustained, with an indefatigable perseverance, the continual attacks of the Ottomans. In spite of the treason of two of his companions, he defeated successively three armies. That long series of exploits won for him the admiration even of his enemies. Mahommed, on his return from the Peloponnesus, offered him peace, and left him tranquil possession of Epirus and Albania (1460).

Expedition against Trebizonde and Sinope.—Upon the coast of the Black Sea still subsisted three independent states enclosed by the Ottoman possessions: the Greek Empire of Trebizonde, founded by the Comnenes after the capture of Constantinople by the Latins; the colony of Amastris (Amaszrah), the depôt of all the Genoese

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commerce in these regions; finally, between those two cities, and upon the road which led to either, Sinope, where King Isfendiar still reigned. When the Ottoman army set out on its march at the commencement of 1461, no one knew against which of these places the expedition was directed. One of the judges of the army having ventured to ask the Sultan, the latter angrily replied, "If I thought that a hair of my beard knew my designs, I would pluck it out and cast it into the fire." The Genoese were first attacked; Amastris opened its gates; two-thirds of its inhabitants were transported to Constantinople. Next the Prince of Sinope was summoned to deliver up his city, and the grand vizier, with a fleet of 150 sail, blockaded the port. Isfendiar yielded, and received in indemnification domains in Bithynia. Lastly, Mahommed, after an expedition into Armenia against a Turkoman prince, who had been allied with the Emperors of Trebizonde, presented himself before that city. No resistance was attempted; the Comnenes were embarked for Constantinople, and on his return thither, the Sultan ordered their execution. The youngest alone was spared, because he had embraced Islamism; the Princess Anne, daughter of the last emperor, became a slave in the harem; and the Empress Helena, after having witnessed the massacre of her children, buried them with her own hands, in spite of the prohibition of the Sultan, and expired from grief and misery.

Conquest of Wallachia. — These expeditions were followed by a war in Wallachia. That country had been for some thirty years under the sway of the most sanguinary tyrant of which history makes mention. This was Bladus (Wlad), called by his subjects *the Devil* (Drakul); by the Hungarians, Wlad *the Executioner;* by the Turks, Wlad *the Empaler.* The atrocities related of him surpass all that imagination can conceive of the most horrible: executions in mass—400 young Transylvanians who had come into Wallachia to preach a crusade, 600 merchants who had returned rich from Bohemia, 500 nobles and magistrates who had complained of the cruelties of Wlad

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were burnt or empaled at the one time; next all the beggars of the country were summoned to a great feast and burnt alive whilst at table; women mutilated, and children compelled to eat the flesh of their mothers. His favourite amusement was to dine with his court in the middle of a circle of empaled victims. He caused the feet of his Turkish prisoners to be scorched, and the muscles laid bare rubbed with salt. The number of his victims was estimated to exceed 30,000. Mahommed made preparations to attack this ferocious beast, not on account of his crimes, but to bring Wallachia under Ottoman domination. Disturbances in Germany, then torn by domestic wars, as well as the contest between the Emperor and Matthias, favoured the progress of Mahommed II., who often stroked his beard and vowed to take vengeance for his defeat at Belgrade. After converting Servia into a Turkish province, he next turned his views towards Bosnia. Stephen Thomas, King of Bosnia, was already a tributary of the Porte; but, disgusted with Turkish tyranny, he had appealed to an Hungarian diet held at Segedin in 1458, which agreed to protect him, and invested his son with a portion of Servia that still remained unconquered. For the next three or four years Mahommed left Bosnia without much molestation, and in 1462 employed himself in reducing Wallachia. The Woïwodes, or Hospodars, of Wallachia, had been vassals of Poland, but after the fall of Constantinople became, like other neighbouring princes, tributary to the Porte. Here had reigned since 1456 the cold-blooded tyrant Bladus, already mentioned.

Conquest of Bosnia (1463).—In the following year the Turks overran the Herzegovina, reduced the Woïwode of Montenegro, and renewed their attempts on Bosnia. In the last-named country, King Stephen Thomas fell a victim to his own ill-timed generosity and the crimes of his unnatural son. In the disguise of a monk, Mahommed II. had penetrated into Bosnia to inspect its fortresses. He was discovered and brought before Stephen, who, neglecting the opportunity which fortune had thrown in

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his way, honourably dismissed the Sultan. A large party of the nobles, displeased with this act, joined the party of Stephen's son, who was in open rebellion against his father, and soon after murdered him. Bosnia was now torn by the factions of three claimants of the crown: that of the assassin, of Ban Radivoi his brother, and of Catherine, Stephen's widow—a state of things which enabled Mahommed to attack that country with advantage. These movements of the Turks were a principal reason with King Matthias for concluding with Frederick III. in 1463 the peace already mentioned. In September of that year, having assembled his vassals at Peterwardein, Matthias crossed the Save into Bosnia, drove the Turks before him, and after a siege of three months recovered the important fortress of Jaicza. At Christmas, having been forced to retire through a want of provisions, he entered Buda in triumph, followed by a long train of Osmanli prisoners in purple dresses. In 1464, however, Jaicza, after a memorable defence, and in spite of the attempts of Matthias to relieve it, was captured by Mahommed; when all Bosnia, except a few fortresses and a small district in the north, fell into the hands of the Turks. Matthias made Nicholas of Ujlak king of the unconquered portion.

Scarcely had a treaty been signed between the Sultan and Wlad, than the latter signed another with Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, and bound himself to attack the Ottomans. Mahommed tried to get rid of his enemy by cunning, and sent Hamsa, Pacha of Widdin, with his secretary, to draw him into a conference. Wlad divined its object, and, seizing the two envoys, had them empaled with all their suite, "the pacha on a stake higher than the others as a mark of honour." Then he entered Bulgaria, destroyed or massacred all along his route, and carried away 25,000 captives. The Sultan sent other ambassadors to him; Wlad admitted them into his presence; but, as they refused to take off their turbans to salute him, he caused them to be nailed to their heads. On hearing this, Mahommed, exasperated, ordered his army

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to march by land, whilst he himself with 175 vessels reascended the Danube, took Kilia and Braïla, and pursued his enemy, who devastated all before him. The Sultan's forces numbered, it is said, 150,000 men. Wlad had no more than 10,000 soldiers; but he not the less surprised one night the Ottoman camp, made a great carnage, and was very nearly taking or slaying the Sultan himself. Some days after, Mahommed directed his march upon Bucharest; but when he reached the plain of Prælatu, at some distance from that city, he stood horror-stricken: for half-a-league in length and a quarter in breadth arose a most frightful forest; 20,000 Turks and Bulgarians, men, women, and children, were empaled. The body of Hamsa Pacha was seen in the midst of all these victims. After having contemplated this terrible spectacle, Mahommed exclaimed almost with admiration, "How can I despoil of his states a man who does such things to keep them?" He himself, in fact, mercilessly caused all his prisoners to be decapitated, beat to death, mutilated, sawn in two. This abominable war desolated the whole country during several months. At length, Wlad fled into Hungary, where Matthias Corvinus flung him into prison. The Sultan established his brother Radul in his stead, who had been brought up in his seraglio, but he reduced him to the condition of a pacha, and Wallachia thus found itself definitively reunited to the Ottoman Empire. Fifteen years after, Wlad reappeared, again terrified the country by his cruelties, and at last came to his end by assassination.

CHAPTER III.

EFFETE CONDITION OF THE GREEK EMPIRE.—THE TURKISH FEUDAL SYSTEM.

In the middle of the fifteenth century of our era, Constantine Palæologus, the last feeble heir of Grecian culture

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and Roman magnificence, still enjoyed at Constantinople the title of Emperor of the East. His empire, however, was in the last stage of decay; though the walls and suburbs of his capital comprised a great part of his dominions, he had been compelled to share even those narrow precincts with the republics of Genoa and Venice; and what was still worse, Constantinople existed only by sufferance of the Turks, and had been reduced to pay tribute to those warlike barbarians, and to see Mahommedan mosques and Osmanli tribunals erected within its walls. From year to year all Europe looked forward with unavailing anxiety and compassion to the certain fall of the city in which the Christian faith had been established as the religion of the empire; and at length in May 1453, as has been seen, Constantinople yielded to the arms of Mahommed II. With its capture the curtain falls on the nations of antiquity; and the final establishment of the Turks in Europe, the latest settlers of those migratory races which had composed its population, forms the first great episode of Modern History. The lingering vestiges of antiquity then vanished altogether; the Cæsars were no longer represented except by an unreal shadow in the German Empire; and the language of Plato and Xenophon, which till then the scholars of Italy could acquire in tolerable purity as a living tongue, rapidly degenerated into the barbarous dialect now spoken in the Morea.

Contrast between the Turks and Christians.—In the fifteenth century a startling contrast is afforded by the effete and demoralised Christian empire of Byzantium, and the Ottoman power in its then highly vitalised and energetic state. At the time when Constantinople was nearing its fate the famous Greek Empire was limited, as has been said, to the small district which surrounded the imperial city, and that narrow portion of Asia Minor which lay within the horizon of Constantinople. Nothing is more remarkable than the change which has come over the Ottoman Turks since the days when they first acquired a decisive footing in Europe. They were then conspicuous for eminent qualities, the absence of which

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is now so universally deplored. One great reason of the rapid progress of the Turkish power was that the Christians obtained an order and security from the Moslem which they could not attain among themselves. The various scattered nationalities south of the Danube were unable to attain unity or useful combination. Mr Finlay, in his history of the Byzantine Empire, explains how the Christian felt his life and property utterly insecure under the princes, and longed for the safety and justice which followed in the wake of the Ottoman armies. Slavonians, Wallachians, Albanians, and Greeks had territories which they had to defend against the incursions of their neighbours and the rapacity of their own princes. The debasement was on the side of the Christian populations. Sir Thomas Rycaut, who resided in Turkey for eighteen years, wrote in 1665: "In the Turkish camp no brawls, quarrels, or clamours are heard; no abuses are committed on the people by the march of the army; all is bought and paid for by money as by travellers that are guests at an inn. There are no complaints of mothers of outrage against their virgin daughters, no violences or robberies offered to the inhabitants." "If any foul act be committed," says Knoller, in his "Turkish History," "it is most commonly done by Grecians." These traditions still survive in the Turkish army, modelled on the lines of feudalism, and the atrocities of which we now hear so much must be mainly attributed to the irregular troops, Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks.

The Turkish Feudal System.—In all Ottoman conquests there was a distribution of forfeited lands into fiefs. It was Mahommed II. who introduced the old feudal usages of the Seljukian Empire. This was called the Timariot system, and in some respects is singularly parallel with the English feudal system. Large tracts of the richest land having reverted to Government by confiscation, a considerable proportion was divided into fiefs, and conferred on distinguished warriors. The Timariot held his fief on the condition of serving the sultan in compact with a certain number of followers proportioned

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to its value. It was the Timariot system, in conjunction with the tributes of Christian chiefdom, which mainly consolidated Turkish power in Europe. Lord Byron has an allusion to the feudal system of Turkey:

> "We Moslems reck not much of blood;
> But yet the line of Karasman
> Unchanged, unchangeable hath stood,
> First of the bold Timariot bands,
> That won and well can keep their lands."

The word Spahi originally denoted the lowest class of Timariot. It was only by means of their feudatories that a small minority of conquerors, like the English in India, were enabled to retain their authority over a vast population, with a large subject element of farmers and landed proprietors. The Christian cultivators, in a large proportion of cases, retained their lands, paying revenues to the Timariot, who, in turn, rendered service to the sultan. Unfortunately, as differences of creed were added to those of race, there was never the same fusion which took place in Western Europe. The system might be defective, and it manifested growing defects, but at the same time there were some points on which it favourably contrasted with the Western system. The condition of the Ottoman rayah would be one of greater comfort and security than that of the Russian serf or the French *villein*. Like the old condition of baron and knight, the feudal military organisation of Turkey has now passed away, but it survived nearly to our own times, and traces of it still remain.

A feudal system has two sides, the military and the territorial. The feudal militia, in conjunction with the Janissaries, for generations constituted the strength of the Ottoman power. The Turkish feudal system has to be studied both in Asia and Europe. In Asia Minor we find the same decay and depopulation as in European Turkey—the fallen bridge, the ruined caravanserai, the thinned population, the deserted district. Mahommed II. swept away Othoman's feudal system in Asia Minor:

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it is a common criticism, however, that he would have done better if he had tried to reinvigorate and restore it. The ruins of the feudal castle are found in many a sequestered valley of the Asiatic provinces. In Europe other causes have been at work; not only lust and cruelty, the fundamental vices of Islamism, but the denial of justice and fair play to Christians, and the blundering finance which has been injurious to all creeds and classes. The decline of cultivation, credit, and population is not essentially due to the feudal system consequent upon the Turkish conquest, except that the fief not passing from father to son constituted a further great barrier to improvement. The laws affecting land have always been of the most iniquitous and suicidal description, and have fallen with equal harshness on the "infidel" and "the true believer." For two months annually all agricultural industry is paralysed. The tax is paid in kind—a certain proportion of the annual crop. The harvest waits the leisure of the tax-gatherer; and the most primitive, cumbrous operations are retained because they best suit the convenience and the precedents of Government. It is calculated that the Christian provinces could sustain fourteen times the present population. The magnificent resources of Turkey have been an immense lure to speculators in loans, but these resources can never be developed under an intensified system of misgovernment. The old feudal system has passed away without the substitution of anything better, but with the aggravation of its worst elements. When the soil is owned by the Mussulman, but cultivated by the Christian, the landlord farms the taxes or combines with the tax-collector. Even the feudal system has been ill-exchanged for the abnormal monstrosities which have succeeded it. Feudality in Turkey is an interesting and highly curious subject, to which too little attention has been given, even in the magnificent work of Von Hammer. Its main point of interest is the contrast afforded between the East and West of Europe; the contrast between what is retrograde and what is progressive, the points of de-

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parture to the worse and to the better. In reading the history of the Ottoman Turks, the character of the Turkish feudal system, and its influence on the army and the populations, is to be taken into account.

CHAPTER IV.

WAR WITH VENICE AND MOLDAVIA.

Pius II. appeals to Mahommed II.—The zeal of Pius II. was simple, and even enthusiastic enough to fancy that his exhortations might work on a hardened and ambitious conqueror like Mahommed; and in a remarkable letter (1461) he exhorted the Sultan to be baptized, promising, in reward for his compliance, to salute him as Emperor of the East, and to confer on him by right what at present he held only by force.

War with the Venetians.—The resistance against the Turks, which flagged under the stimulus of religious zeal, was at length roused by the avidity of commerce and the plans of secular ambition. Scarcely had Servia, Wallachia, and Bosnia been conquered by the Turks, when a war broke out between them and the Venetians, which during some years diverted the Moslem arms from any formidable attempts against the rest of Europe.

Death of Scanderbeg.—The ill success of the Venetians in the campaign of 1465 led them again to seek the alliance of the Albanian chieftain, Scanderbeg, whom Mahommed had long in vain endeavoured to subdue; and Croïa and Scutari received Venetian garrisons. In 1466 Mahommed marched against Albania with an apparently overwhelming force of 200,000 men; but the attacks of Scanderbeg, and the difficulty of providing for so numerous an army, compelled him to retire. In the following January, however, the Dragon of Albania, Scanderbeg,

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expired at Alessio, from the effects of a fever, recommending with his dying breath his son, John Castriot, a minor, to the protection of the Venetians. For twenty-five years the Dragon of Albania had been the terror of the Moslems. When Mahommed, some years afterwards, obtained possession of Alessio, he caused Scanderbeg's tomb to be opened, and his remains to be exhibited to the admiring Osmanli. Pieces of his bones were sought for with avidity, to be converted into talismans, which were deemed capable of inspiring the wearers with some portion of the valour of that unconquered hero.

Venice menaced by the Turks.—For the next two or three years the Turkish and Venetian war offers little of importance. In July 1470 the Turks made themselves masters of the important island of Negropont, the ancient Eubœa. In 1476 the Turks approached the Salzburg Alps, and the very borders of Italy; and in the summer of 1477 their ravages were repeated in a still more dreadful manner. Crossing the Isonzo, they threatened even Venice herself, and the sea-queen might have beheld from her towers the columns of fire that rose in the plains between the Tagliamento and the Piave. After the enemy had retired, the Venetians attempted to secure themselves from a repetition of this insult, by throwing up a lofty rampart on the banks of the Lower Isonzo, from Gortz to the marshes of Aquileia, protected at each end by a fortified camp. But scarcely was it completed, when a fresh swarm of Osmanli, under Omar Bey, broke through in several places, and a hundred villages became at once a prey to the flames. The historian Sabellico, who beheld this fearful spectacle from a tower near Udine, likened the whole plain between the Isonzo and the Tagliamento to a sea of fire.

War in Moldavia — Conquest of the Crimea.—The warlike ardour of the Ottomans did not confine itself to the expeditions just related; Servia and Bosnia opening to them the Balkans and the basin of the Danube, they rushed eastwards, not in regular armies, but in savage bands, which only sought for pillage and the massacre of

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Christians. They thus invaded, during those four years (1470 to 1473), Croatia, Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria. Germany began to tremble; but the danger which threatened Europe failed to re-unite the Christian sovereigns in a common defence, and the Ottomans were able, without hindrance, to continue their conquests or their ravages.

The possession of Wallachia had only given a portion of the ancient Dacia to the Turkish Empire; Moldavia, in the same way peopled by a Roumanian race, was independent, or, to speak more correctly, the suzerainty of it was disputed by Hungary and Poland. Stephen IV. then reigned in Moldavia, a prince who, by his victories and his talents, has embellished the history of that country with its noblest pages. He had already defeated successively the Hungarians, the Poles, and the Tartars, when Mahommed sought to compel him to pay tribute; he refused, and an Ottoman army of more than 100,000 men invaded the country, but was put to a thorough rout by 40,000 Moldavians near Racovitza, upon the Berlatu (1475). Following the example of his neighbour Wlad *the Devil*—for these Christian princes were as ferocious as the Turks—Stephen caused his prisoners to be empaled. Mahommed became infuriated at the news of this defeat; but the better to assure his vengeance, he determined to attack Moldavia on two sides, and make the Tartars of the Kaptschak or the Crimea march against her.

The Crimea.—The Crimea had been included in the great empire of Zinghis Khan, and, after the division of that empire, in the khanate of the *Kaptschak*, which comprehended all the country north of the Caspian and of the Black Sea, with Russia. The invasion of Tamerlane having overthrown the Kaptschak, the race of Zinghis entirely perished, with the exception of a prince, Devlet Sherai, who was the founder of the khans of the Crimea. But that country already belonged only nominally to the Tartars. A small Christian republic had comprehended the importance of that peninsula which commanded the Black Sea and the Bosphorus; already mistress of Pera, and of twenty other maritime

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points in the Mediterranean, it had seized upon the coasts of the Crimea, had established there commercial depôts, and founded a very flourishing city, Kaffa. Mahommed II. could not leave to his vassals of Pera a possession which menaced Constantinople; and, the Moldavian war having furnished him with the opportunity, he directed a fleet of 300 sail upon the Crimea. Kaffa held out for only six days, when it was delivered up by treason to the Ottomans, who carried off almost all the inhabitants; the other Genoese places surrendered without resistance, and, the peninsula thus finding itself for the greater part in the power of the Turks, Mahommed installed there, as his vassal and tributary, a son of Devlet, Mengli Sheraï. It formed thus a barrier against the Russians, which he thought impassable; for "he feared," says a Turkish historian, "lest the Muscovites, whose power was beginning to increase, might profit by the perpetual divisions of the Tartar tribes."

Mahommed defeated by Stephen IV.—The war in Moldavia was then resumed. The victorious fleet sailed back again to Ackerman, which it carried by assault, whilst the Sultan himself crossed the Danube at the head of 100,000 men. Stephen IV. had acquired, like Hunyade and Scanderbeg, the renown of champion of Christianity, or, as the Pope called him, "the athlete of Christ;" but he asked in vain for aid from Hungary and Poland; he then retreated before the formidable army which menaced him, drew it into a forest near Robœni, and there thoroughly routed it. Mahommed lost 30,000 men (1476).

That reverse only moderately weakened the Turkish Empire, and the Sultan found amongst the unfortunate Christian populations wherewith to renew his armies.

Treaty with Venice (1479).—In other respects the arms of the Turks had not been successful. An attempt on Croïa in 1477 had been repulsed, and in Greece Lepanto had been delivered by Loredano and his fleet. But the war had now lasted thirteen years, and the resources of Venice were nearly exhausted. At length Giovanni Dario, the Secretary of State, was despatched to Constantinople with full powers to conclude a peace

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on any conditions. A treaty was accordingly signed, January 26, 1479, and although the states of Europe had done little or nothing to assist Venice in her arduous struggle with the Turk, they agreed in abusing the peace which necessity had imposed upon her.

Turkish Atrocities.—While the Venetian commerce was secured by this treaty, that of the Genoese in the Black Sea had been nearly annihilated during the last few years of the war. In 1475 Kaffa, their principal colony, fell into the hands of the Turks, whence Mahommed extended his dominion over the smaller settlements. Although Kaffa had capitulated, the Turks, with their habitual disregard of such engagements, carried of 40,000 of the inhabitants; many of the principal citizens were barbarously tortured and killed, and 1500 of the most promising youths were incorporated in the Janissaries.

Defeat of the Turks at Brotfeld.—The peace enabled Mahommed to direct his operations against Hungary and Italy. In 1479 the Turks made dreadful incursions into Slavonia, Hungary, and Transylvania; but Paul Kinis, Count of Temesvar, whose name was long a terror to them, and Stephen Bathori, Woïwode of Transylvania, inflicted on them a memorable defeat on the Brotfeld, near Szasz Varos (October 13, 1479).

Mahommed soon after the peace with Venice wrested three of the Ionian islands, St Maura, Zante, and Cephalonia, from the despot of Arta. This conquest afforded the Sultan an opportunity to display one of those singular caprices in which despotic power alone can indulge. He caused some of the inhabitants to be conveyed to the islands in the Sea of Marmora, where he compelled them to intermarry with Africans, in order that he might have a race of coloured slaves. The Turks also made an ineffectual attempt to take Rhodes by surprise, which was valiantly repulsed by the Knights under their Grand Master, Pierre d'Aubusson. Upon the ruined walls the besieged had erected an enormous catapult, which hurled back upon the Turks the fragments of their stone cannon-balls, and was derisively called by the Knights *the tribute*.

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Unsuccessful Attack upon Rhodes.—At length, on the 28th of July, a general assault upon Rhodes was delivered. The Turks rushed in mass upon the breach, and it was already forced, when Mesih Pacha restrained the ardour of his soldiers by forbidding them to pillage the town. The assailants were repulsed in disorder, having lost 9000 dead and 15,000 wounded, which compelled them to re-embark. The admiral, on his return to Constantinople, was ignominiously deposed.

The year following the Sultan died, August 3, 1481.

Character of Mahommed II.—His Institutions.—Mahommed II. is, of all the Ottoman sovereigns, that one of whom Europeans have most spoken. His contemporaries, especially the Byzantines, have painted him in the blackest colours; to his actual cruelties they have added imaginary ones; thus when his death became known at Rome, the Pope ordered prayers and rejoicings for three days. Christianity believed herself delivered from her most formidable enemy. Later, however, romancing writers indulged in his praise. The truth is that Mahommed II. had all the vices of a corrupt barbarian, and if he loved letters and protected them, he was not the less a dissolute, perfidious, and sanguinary tyrant—one of the most detestable manslayers recorded in history. As a warrior, Mahommed, in spite of the extent of his conquests, was not an extraordinary man; he owed his chief successes to the number of his soldiers and the weakness of his enemies; but as a legislator he was favourably distinguished from his predecessors. Before him the Ottomans were rather an army than a nation; their institutions were those of a semi-nomad and adventurous people. It was Mahommed II. who gave those institutions a character of stability. His code of laws, called the *Kanoun Namé* (fundamental law), was divided into three parts; the first treats of the hierarchy and the grandees of the empire, the second of ceremonies, and the third of the penalties for crime and the financial and municipal administration.

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CHAPTER V.

REIGNS OF BAJAZET II. AND SELIM I. (1481-1520).

Revolt of Djem.—Mahommed II. left two sons, Bajazet, governor of Amasia, and Djem, governor of Karamania. This Prince Djem, or Zizim, as European historians have called him, was the youngest of the two brothers. He was then in his twenty-second year. Of lively and cultivated mind, an expert wrestler, and no mean poet, he had succeeded in gaining the affections of the indocile people whom he governed, and had created for himself a party from amongst the grandees of the Empire. The Vizier Mahommed Karamani, who had an understanding with him, agreed to conceal the death of the Sultan until his successor was declared. He sent messengers to the two princes, and, as Mahommed had died at Scutari, he had his body carried to Constantinople in a shut-up bark, giving out that the Sultan was going to take the baths for the re-establishment of his health. But the people already suspected the truth—the *adjem-oghlans* (recruiters of the Janissaries) enlightened the army. The Janissaries immediately rose, pillaged several quarters of the city, and put the vizier to death. That militia, during the continual wars of the latter reigns, had acquired an immoderate importance, and began to render itself formidable. Already at the beginning of the reign of Mahommed II. it had demanded tumultuously additional pay, and the Sultan, whilst punishing the ringleaders, had been compelled to yield to the exigence of the soldiers. That fatal example was about to be renewed; it passed into a custom, and the bounty on their accession was paid by all the sultans down to 1774.

Tyranny of the Janissaries.—The messenger despatched to Djem, however, had been arrested by the Beylerbey of Anatolia, but Bajazet was warned in time; he quitted his government, arrived in nine days at Scutari, and

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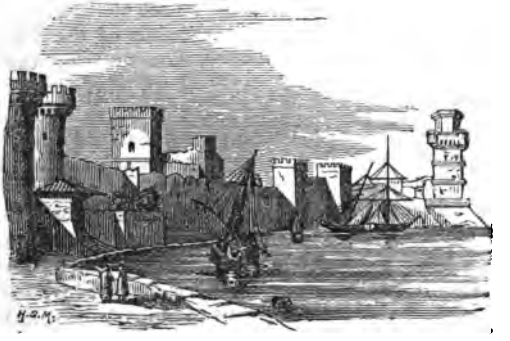
caused himself to be proclaimed Sultan. The Janissaries went tumultuously to meet him. They demanded an amnesty for the disorders they had committed, the accession bounty, the banishment of Mustapha Pacha, the favourite of the new prince, and the elevation of Ishak Bey, governor of Constantinople, to the dignity of grand vizier. All was granted, and thus the tyranny of these new prætorians was consecrated.

Character of Bajazet II.—The new Sultan was of a pacific character. In his government of Amasia he had lived surrounded by poets and writers, himself cultivating letters. The Ottoman historians call him Bajazet *the Sofi*, a name which they give to learned men who devote themselves to a contemplative existence. He was thrown, however, by the necessities of his position, and, so to speak, by the destinies of the Ottoman Empire, into wars almost perpetual. Djem had taken up arms, marched upon Broussa, defeated a corps of 2000 Janissaries, and entered the city. Whilst he there installed his court, and was making the environs recognise his authority, Bajazet raised an army and advanced to maintain his rights. The Sultana Seldjukchatoun, great-aunt of the two brothers, endeavoured in vain to reconcile them. "There is no relationship between princes," was the reply of Bajazet. Djem divided his already insufficient forces, was defeated near Jenischehr (20th June 1482), and compelled to flee towards Karamania. Thence he sought refuge in the states of the Sultan of Egypt. Bajazet, after having pursued him for several days, regained his capital. In passing before Broussa, the Janissaries demanded that the city should be given up to pillage as a punishment for having acknowledged Djem; the Sultan, after having harangued them himself, was constrained to treat with the mutineers, and gave a thousand aspres per man in order to ransom the city.

The following year Djem returned from Cairo to Aleppo, and allied himself with Kasim Bey, the last of the princes of Karaman. Several Ottoman governors

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took part with him, and Konieh was besieged. But fortune was again favourable to Bajazet, thanks to the ability of Keduk Ahmed, the conqueror of Kaffa and Otranto, and Djem saw himself compelled to raise the siege of Konieh. The governor of Angora was defeated and slain; desertion spread itself throughout the army of the rebel prince, and he was obliged to flee a second time. He sent ambassadors to Bajazet, proposing an equal share of territory; the Sultan replied: "The bride of the empire cannot be shared. Let my brother cease to plunge his horse's hoofs in Mussulman blood; let him content himself with his legitimate revenues, and expend them at Jerusalem." Djem refused, and preferred rather to throw himself into the arms of the enemies of the empire. As for Kasim Bey, he made his submission, and all Karamania was pacified; but Keduk Ahmed, who had conducted that war, having rendered himself odious to Bajazet alike by his pride and popularity, was put to death.



RHODES.

Djem's Treaty with the Knights of Rhodes.—Djem, however, had undertaken to raise the Ottoman provinces in Europe with the aid of Christian powers, and with that intention one of his secret agents was despatched to the Grand Master of Rhodes. The surprise of the

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Knights was extreme; they, however, promised the prince an honourable reception and a secure retreat. On the 23d of July 1482, a galley of the Order brought him to Rhodes, where he was received with great pomp. Soon after agents from the Sultan arrived charged to make magnificent offers, and negotiations were also entered upon with them. But first a treaty was concluded with the fugitive prince which secured great advantages to the Order, should Djem be one day established; then, under pretext that he was not in safety at Rhodes, they made him take his departure for France. Some days after he had set out the Knights signed a treaty with the Sultan, by which the latter engaged to remain at peace with the Order during his life, and to pay to it an annual pension of 45,000 ducats for keeping his brother in custody. That treaty was a manifest violation of that made with Djem, a perfidy so much the more odious, that it was stipendiary. The Pope, the King of Hungary, and the Emperor, in vain demanded that the prince should be set at liberty, hoping to make him assist in the weakening of the Ottoman Empire; but the Grand Master, won over by the new promises or flatteries of the Sultan, eluded all their entreaties.

Arrived at Nice, the Ottoman prince could no longer dissemble to himself that he was not a captive; the greater part of his suite was taken from him and sent back to Rhodes. From Nice he was transferred successively to Chambéry, to Puy, and to Bourganeuf. During seven years he was dragged from one stronghold to another guarded with increased vigour. At length, in 1489, the Grand Master delivered him up to Pope Innocent VIII. On the death of the latter, his successor, the infamous Alexander Borgia, proposed to the Sultan to keep his brother captive for an annual payment of 40,000 ducats, or to get rid of him for 300,000 ducats promptly paid down. Whilst that bargain was under debate, Italy was invaded by the King of France, and the Ottoman Empire threatened with serious troubles.

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The Projected Crusade of Charles VIII. of France.—The Quixotic Charles VIII. had dreamed of the conquest of Constantinople and Jerusalem: the submission of the kingdom of Naples was destined to be only the prelude to that gigantic expedition, for which the French chivalry had been convoked as for the ancient crusades. A son of Thomas Palæologus had sold to the young king his rights to the throne of the East. The Grand Master of Rhodes was to command the army when it should arrive in Greece; several sovereigns of Europe had promised to contribute to the expedition either their money or their soldiers. Agents had been sent to rouse up Macedonia, Greece, and Albania; arms and money had been distributed amongst those countries; the Archbishop of Durazzo and the Mirdites were at the head of the conspiracy; the route of the French was marked out from Otranto to Avlona, from Avlona to Byzantium, through the Albanian and Greek populations, whose concurrence was hoped for. Finally, they reckoned upon Djem in person, whom Charles VIII. claimed, to disquiet Bajazet and effect a diversion, by rekindling civil war in the Turkish provinces.

At the news of Charles's march into Italy, where the people hailed him with the titles of Defender of the Church and Liberator of the Faith, terror and hope spread through the East; the Greeks took up arms; the Turks evacuated their positions in Albania. "Bajazet," says an historian who blindly repeats a popular rumour—"Bajazet took such a fright that he collected all his fleet to escape into Asia." But the Pope, the republic of Venice, and Ferdinand of Naples, in order to oppose the French conquest, solicited the Sultan to make a descent upon Italy. Alexander VI., besieged by the French in the Castle of St Angelo, and constrained to deliver up his captive, gave him up, but poisoned; finally, the Venetians arrested the deputies whom the Albanians and Greeks sent to the King of France, and gave their papers to the Sultan, who, instructed in all the details of the conspiracy, extinguished it in the blood of 40,000 Christians. Djem died at Naples.

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whither he had followed the French army, 24th of February 1495. His body, deposited at first at Gaeta, was some years after transported to Gallipoli, and from thence to Broussa, to the burial-place of the first sultans. The remembrance of his misfortunes, of his long captivity, and of his romantic love for the beautiful Helen, daughter of the castellan of Sassenage, was long preserved in France.

Expeditions in Hungary and Moldavia.—The captivity of Djem, and the events consequent upon it, contributed to multiply the relations of the Ottomans with Western Europe. That fact constitutes the most important feature of Bajazet's reign; for that long reign is only filled with expeditions upon the frontiers of no great brilliance or interest. In Hungary and Bosnia the war was very nearly permanent—a war of pillage and atrocities, in which Kinis, Jaxieh, Tekely, and other Christian chiefs, rivalled the Turkish pachas in ferocity; every year both shores of the Danube were devastated far and wide.

First Relations with Russia.—At this epoch commenced the first relations of the Ottoman Empire with Russia. From the ninth century, and principally under the first successors of Rurik, the Russians had rendered themselves formidable to the Greek Empire. They had ravaged the Wallachian provinces, occupied Bulgaria, and even menaced Constantinople. It was in consequence of these expeditions that they embraced Christianity; they received it with the Greek schism, which they have retained. Divided later into a great number of principalities, Russia became almost entirely subjected to the Mongols. At length, in 1481, Ivan III., Grand Duke of Moscow, freed himself from the Tartar domination, re-united under his authority the greater part of the principalities, and became, in a word, the veritable creator of the Russian Empire. In 1492 he made friendly propositions to the Sultan through the medium of the Khan of the Crimea, his ally. In 1495 a Muscovite ambassador appeared at Constantinople, and four years after a second

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envoy obtained commercial privileges for the Russian merchants.

Irruptions of the Turks into Poland.—Bajazet entered also into pacific relations with Poland. In 1490 he concluded with John Albert, third prince of the Jagellon dynasty, a treaty which was renewed in 1493. But three years after, that good understanding was interrupted through both princes contending for the suzerainty of Moldavia. John Albert having invaded that country, the Turks drove him out, and made two irruptions into Poland, seconded by the Prince of Moldavia, Bogdan, who made his submission to the Porte. They devastated the country, burned several towns, pillaged Jaroslav, and were only arrested by the famine and cold, which decimated their army.

War with the Venetians.—At this period a rupture took place between the Sultan and the Venetians. A Turkish fleet and army were sent against Lepanto; a naval combat, fought near Sapienza, opened the entrance of the gulf to the fleet; the city, menaced by land and sea, surrendered. At the same time Iskender Pacha, governor of Bosnia, invaded Friuli, crossed the Isonzo, and ravaged the Venetian territory; his cavalry pushed even beyond the Tagliamento and appeared under the walls of Vicenza. In the following campaign the Venetians seized upon Cephalonia, and burned, at Previsa, a squadron of forty Turkish ships; but later, they lost Modon, Coron, and Navarino. However, the war upon the Hungarian frontier having proved disastrous, Bajazet himself made overtures for peace; and two treaties were concluded, in 1502 with Venice, in 1503 with Hungary, in which all the Christian States were comprised.

Revolt of Bajazet's Sons—His Death.—The last years of the reign of Bajazet II. were troubled by the ambitious pretensions of his sons. He had had eight, of whom three survived him—Korkud, Ahmed, and Selim. The first, passionately fond of letters and the arts, a protector of learned men, and a friend of peace, displeased the soldiers; the Sultan even was little disposed to designate

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him as his successor, and leaned visibly in favour of Ahmed. Ahmed reckoned, besides, among his partisans the grand vizier, Ali Pacha, and the most influential personages of the divan. But the third son of Bajazet, Selim, by his martial bearing, by his decided inclination for war, and also by his marked attention to the soldiery, had won the favour of the army, and especially of the Janissaries. A struggle appeared imminent. Bajazet, to prevent it breaking out, distributed the chief governments amongst his sons: Korkud had that of Tekieh, Ahmed that of Amasia, Selim that of Trebizonde. Solyman, the young son of Selim, was also made governor of Kaffa.

Selim's Revolt.—This arrangement did not satisfy the ambition of Selim; he abandoned, without orders, his government, to repair to Kaffa, where he brought about an understanding with the Tartars of the Crimea. He was ordered to return to his government. To this he replied by asking for a government in Europe, in order, he said, to be more within reach of conferring with his father. Upon the refusal of the Sultan, he openly revolted, and marched towards Roumelia. Bajazet hoped to intimidate him by sending an army against him; but Selim stood firm, and it was the Sultan's army which was compelled to retire to avoid an engagement. The Sultan then treated with his son, and gave him the government of Semendria and of Widdin (1511).

Death of Bajazet II. (1512).—Selim was slowly directing his steps towards his new residence, when he learned that Korkud had seized upon the government of Sarukhan, to be nearer to the capital also. At this news Selim fell back, and entered Adrianople as a sovereign. Bajazet, yielding to the representations of his ministers, resolved to punish his son; a collision took place near Tchorli, and Selim, defeated, fled to the Crimea. The Janissaries then revolted, and forced the Sultan to recall his son to the government of Semendria. The prince having set out on his way thither, they went to meet him, and conducted him as it were in triumph to Constantinople.

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Some days after (25th April 1512), they carried him to the Seraglio with the spahis (cavalry) and a great concourse of people. "What do you want?" asked Bajazet. "Our padischah is old and sick," was the reply; "we would have the Sultan Selim." "I cede the empire to him," answered the Sultan; "and may God bless his reign!" He then immediately went and shut himself up in the old seraglio, abandoning the new to his son. Twenty days after he set out for Dimotika, his birthplace, where he wished to die. He died on the way thither (May 26th). Several historians accuse Selim of having poisoned him.

The reign of Bajazet forms a resting-place in the ascending period of the Ottoman Empire, which must be especially attributed to the character of the prince. His pacific and easy-tempered disposition was in disagreement with the spirit of the nation; the wars also which he waged against the Christians were above all inspired by religious motives. He caused the dust which had gathered on his garments during those holy expeditions to be collected, and ordered that it should be placed under his head when in his coffin, in order to conform to that maxim of the Prophet, "He whose feet are covered with dust in the paths of the Lord shall be preserved from the fire eternal."

Selim I. (1512-1520).—Raised to the throne by the Janissaries, whose darling he was, Selim caused 3000 aspres or fifty ducats per man to be distributed amongst them. A sandjàk-bey, emboldened by the occasion, asked for an increase of pay; Selim struck his head off with one stroke of his sabre. Then, leaving to Solyman his son the government of the capital, he hastened into Asia, where two sons and seven grandsons of Bajazet menaced his power.

Ahmed, who endeavoured to assert his claim by arms, was defeated, captured, and executed; and Selim, that he might have no rival near the throne, also put to death his younger brother Korkud, and caused five of his nephews to be slain before his eyes at Broussa. His throne secured

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by these seven murders, the years from 1514 to 1516 were employed by Selim in conquering northern Mesopotamia and a considerable part of Persia. He next reduced Syria, and turned his arms against Egypt, where the Mameluke dynasty had been established since the middle of the thirteenth century. Tumanbeg, the sultan of the Mamelukes, was subdued in the spring of 1517, and put to death at Cairo, April 17th, by command of Selim. The Sultan spent the summer in Egypt in regulating the affairs of his new conquest; and after passing the winter in Damascus, he returned in August 1518, after an absence of two years, to Adrianople, when he began to direct his attention to the affairs of Europe.



DAMASCUS.

The rapidity and magnitude of these conquests naturally attracted the attention and excited the alarm of the European potentates. Venice and Hungary, the states more immediately exposed to the fury of the Turkish arms, had deemed it prudent to conciliate the friendship of the Porte; and both Wladislaus, King of Hungary, and the Government of Venice had, at Selim's accession, renewed

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the peace which they had entered into with his father. The Venetians, ever alive to the interests of their commerce, congratulated Selim after his conquest of Egypt, a country so important to their trade with the Indies, endeavoured to obtain from its new ruler the confirmation of their ancient privileges, and transferred to him the tribute of 8000 ducats, which they had before paid to the Sultan of Egypt, for the possession of Cyprus. On these terms the peace was confirmed (September 17, 1517), and was not disturbed during Selim's lifetime.

Pope Leo X. decrees a new Crusade.—Leo X., who was alarmed at the rapid conquests of Selim, or pretended to be so in order the better to promote his mercenary designs, decreed a war against the infidels in the last session of the Lateran Council (March 16), and obtained the grant of a tithe on all ecclesiastical property in Europe for the purpose of defraying the expenses; and he published a bull enjoining all Christian princes to observe a five years' truce. But though the Pope put on every appearance of earnestness, nothing resulted from these measures save a profitable compact between himself and the French king. The scheme met with no better success in other countries. In this want of zeal among the Christian nations, it was fortunate that Selim's attention was engrossed by his Eastern provinces, and the revolts of his unruly Janissaries. His last enterprise was directed against Rhodes; but he was not destined to accomplish it. Flying from Constantinople to avoid the plague, he was seized with that malady at Tschorli, and expired, September 21, 1520. The fame of this great conqueror is sullied by acts of the most impious cruelty. He is even said to have contemplated the murder of his son and successor Solyman, for fear of experiencing at his hands the fate which he had himself inflicted on his father.

Character of Selim I.—Selim I. has received from the Ottoman historians themselves the appellation of *the Inflexible*. He had, in fact, rendered himself notorious among all the sultans by his excessive cruelty. Never was prince more formidable to his ministers: the post of

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vizier became, under him, so perilous, that a man was wont to say, proverbially, to his enemy: "May you be vizier of Sultan Selim!" He who was most in his favour, Piri Pacha, said to him one day, in a moment of gaiety, that he prayed Selim to give him warning when he wished to get rid of him, in order that he might arrange his affairs; and the Sultan replied that he would on that very instant if he knew some one who could replace him.

In spite of these sanguinary follies and crimes, Selim is reckoned amongst the great men of the Ottoman Empire, first, on account of his conquests, next by reason of the care he bestowed on the administration of the provinces. Bold in his projects, of invincible obstinacy in their execution, the violence of his disposition did not hinder him from securing, by wise precautions, the success of his enterprises. The Ottomans relate that a sheik had predicted that his reign would be of short duration. He then interrogated him on the fate of his son. "He will reign for nearly half a century," replied the sheik, "and be distinguished for his warlike virtue and his great successes." "Ah!" said Selim, with a sigh, "if Allah had granted me so long a reign, I should have equalled King Solomon."

CHAPTER VI.

REIGN OF SOLYMAN I. TO THE YEAR 1535.

First Acts of Solyman.—The successor of Selim was Solyman, Solyman *the Great, the Magnificent, the Conqueror, the Legislator.* These titles, which history has confirmed, are not too pompous for the extraordinary man whose reign is the most brilliant of Ottoman history.

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Solyman was twenty-two at the death of his father. From Magnesia, of which he was governor, he hastened to Constantinople, rendered the last duties to Selim, and caused a mosque to be erected over his tomb, the *Selimiie*, with a school and a *medressé;* then he distributed the accession donative amongst the Janissaries. His first acts showed his love of justice and his generosity: several high functionaries were displaced or put to death for abuse of power; the Egyptian artisans brought by Selim from Egypt to Constantinople, were restored to their country; and the Persian merchants, whom the edicts against the commerce of Persia had ruined, were indemnified.

One revolt only troubled the commencement of the new reign: it was that of Djanberdi Ghazali, governor of Syria, who thought the moment favourable for raising that newly-conquered province; and he essayed in vain to draw Chair Bey, governor of Egypt, into his enterprise. To the third vizier, Ferhad Pacha, was committed the suppression of the revolt. Ghazali, after having attempted to seize upon Aleppo, fell back at the approach of the Sultan's army and reached Damascus, where by treason he caused 5000 Janissaries to be massacred. A few days after, he fought a battle before the gates of that city (27th January 1521). Defeated and given up by his followers, he was put to death, and his head sent to Constantinople.

War with Hungary.—Scarcely was that revolt appeased, ere hostilities were resumed with Hungary. A *tschaouch* having been sent to demand the tribute, was outraged and massacred; the Sultan made immediate preparations for war, and began his march with 150,000 men, followed by 30,000 camels laden with munitions and provisions, and 300 pieces of cannon. Whilst the grand vizier, Piri Pacha, was beginning to invest Belgrade, and the *akindschis* were carrying on their ravages on the other side of the Danube, the Sultan proceeded towards Czabacz. The garrison, numbering between 200 and 300 men, made an heroic resistance; it was exterminated, and Solyman made

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his entry into the town between two ranges of heads stuck upon stakes. He then returned to press operations against Belgrade, which was shattered by his artillery, and capitulated (29th August 1521). The besieged were reduced to 400 men, and had repulsed more than twenty assaults. The Serb population was transferred to Constantinople; and 3000 Janissaries formed the garrison of that city, which became the strongest bulwark of the empire.

Solyman having regained his capital, received the ambassadors and the felicitations of the Grand Duke of Russia and several other princes. Peace was renewed with the Venetians, and a treaty concluded which secured to them fresh commercial advantages, and fixed at 10,000 ducats the tribute paid by the Republic for possession of Cyprus and the Ionian Isles. Then the Sultan resumed the projects of his father against the isle of Rhodes.

Since Syria and Egypt had been reunited to the empire, the possession of that island became necessary to secure the communications with these provinces. The circumstances were, moreover, favourable: the one-half of Europe, engaged in the struggle of Francis I. against Charles V., had not the time to lend aid to that advanced post of Christianity; the capture of Belgrade had terrified Hungary, which only asked for peace; Venice had just renewed her friendly relations. Solyman might therefore hope to efface at Rhodes, as at Belgrade, the remembrance of the checks sustained by his grandfather.

Siege and Capitulation of Rhodes.—At the commencement of 1522, a fleet of 300 sail was ready; and 100,000 men, commanded by the Sultan, took their way by land to second it. The fleet appeared before Rhodes on the 6th of June, the army arrived on the 28th of July, and the siege was begun. An entire month passed in digging mines, with partial combats, the advantage of which frequently remained with the Christians. The first assault took place on the 4th of September, with a loss to the Turks of 2000 killed. It was followed by several others; the garrison, consisting for the most part of Knights of

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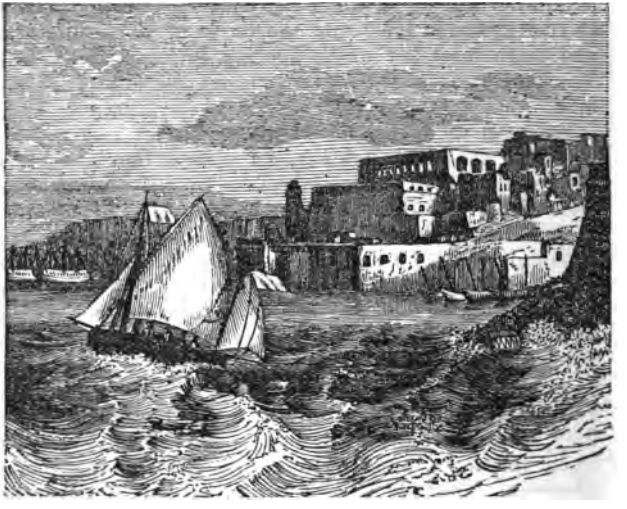
the Order, struggled with an heroic obstinacy, stimulated by the example of the Grand Master, the aged Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, whose name has been immortalised by that memorable defence. On the 24th of September, the ramparts were assailed on all sides at once; a terrible *mêlée* took place in the breaches, the women even joining in the fight, carrying food and munitions, and pouring boiling oil upon the assailants. One among them was seen, after having slain her two children upon the breach, to rush sword in hand into the ranks of the Janissaries, and there meet her death fighting furiously to the last. The Turks retreated after sustaining the loss of 15,000 men.

Solyman redoubled his efforts, and after two months more of continual fighting, he offered the Knights a capitulation (10th of December). Powder and provisions were about to fail them; they had no hope of succour; they, however, still endeavoured to defend themselves, and repulsed two fresh assaults. At length, on the 21st of December, the Grand Master sent two Knights to negotiate the capitulation: it was agreed that the Order should evacuate the town within twelve days, leaving therein fifty hostages; whilst the Ottoman army should retire to the distance of a mile in order to secure the unmolested retreat of the besieged. But, five days after, on Christmas Day, a band of Janissaries forced one of the gates, seized upon the town, and began to pillage the houses and churches. Thus fell Rhodes, after a siege of five months, and which had cost the Turks more than 100,000 men. Solyman gave the Grand Master an honourable reception, and secured with regard to the Knights the exact observation of the capitulation. "I am truly grieved," he said to those about him, "to have to drive that old man out of his palace." The Knights embarked on the 1st of January 1522; they found a refuge in Malta, which Charles V. ceded to them, and whence they determined to continue the war against the adherents of the Koran.

The Grand Vizier Ibrahim.—On the return of the expedition from Rhodes, the grand vizier, Piri Pacha, was

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deposed (1523), and his post given to Ibrahim Pacha, for a long time the Sultan's favourite, and grand master of his falconry. This man, celebrated amongst all the other ministers of the Ottoman Empire by the extraordinary favour which he enjoyed for more than twenty years, and by the almost sovereign influence which he exercised over the events of this reign, belonged by birth, like almost all the great men who have governed the Ottoman



MALTA.

Empire, to the Christian races; he was the son of a sailor of Parga. Carried off by Turkish corsairs, he had passed his youth in the abode of a Magnesian widow who had given him a brilliant education. Solyman met with him when he was governor of that city, was charmed with his good mien, his mental qualities, his skill upon the violin, and made him his page and favourite, and afterwards his first vizier.

Revolt of Ahmed Pacha.—The nomination of Ibrahim

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was seen with chagrin by Ahmed Pacha, who had coveted that high dignity; he solicited in spite the government of Egypt, which was granted to him. He won over the Mamelukes by distributing fiefs among their principal chiefs; then he threw himself openly into rebellion, seized by surprise the castle of Cairo, and assumed the title of Sultan of Egypt. A *tschaouch*, sent to him to signify his deposition, was put to death, as well as the governor who went to displace him; money was coined in his name. Already an army of 30,000 Janissaries was on its march to encounter him, when the rebel, betrayed by one of his viziers, was constrained to flee from Cairo. Delivered up by the Arabs, he was put to death. Kasim Pacha replaced him (1524).

Revolt of the Janissaries.—Three years having passed away in inaction, the Janissaries began to murmur. At the end of 1525, a revolt broke out in their ranks; they sacked the houses of the viziers and the Jews' quarter. Solyman hastened to confront them, and cut down three of the most mutinous with his own hand; the others dared to menace him with their arrows. To appease their turbulence, he distributed 100,000 ducats amongst them. But the two agas of the Janissaries, some spahis, and several superior officers, were executed. At the same time, a campaign was announced against Persia and the successor of Shah Ismail. But Solyman could not begin that war until eight years after, and, during all that time, he had to turn his eyes toward the West, where important events were passing. The moment had come when Turkey was about to enter actively into the system of the European states, and to exercise therein a preponderating influence.

New Policy of France towards the Ottoman Empire.—At that epoch, France, surrounded by the states of the House of Austria, saw herself with terror isolated from the rest of Europe and excluded from the Mediterranean. Before that house, mistress of the Low Countries, of Germany, of Italy, and of Spain, what part could she take in the affairs of the Continent? Before that house,

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mistress of Barcelona and of Naples, of Minorca, and of Sicily, having Genoa and Florence as vassals, allied with Venice, which gave her Corfu and Candia; finally possessing Oran, and threatening to conquer Algiers and Tunis, what became of the legitimate action of France in the Mediterranean? It was necessary at any sacrifice to restore the equilibrium of Europe by a new weight, to oppose to the Austrian power a power equally formidable both upon the Continent and upon the sea, to restore to France her liberty of action in Europe by rendering uneasy by a new enemy the Austrian frontiers; to restore the power of France in the Mediterranean, if not by her own forces, at least by an alliance; finally, to resume, by other modes than those of the Middle Ages, by pacific means, by commercial relations, her influence upon the countries of the Levant.

There was only one nation in a position to fill so great and useful a part—the Ottoman Turks. Their empire, seated at once in Europe, Asia, and Africa, appeared established upon immutable bases. Their arms menaced, by way of Hungary, the heart of the Austrian states; their ships dominated the Adriatic as far as the Bay of Tunis, the Levant to the Sea of Azof. No rivalry of position or interest could exist between the Ottoman Empire and France; both had the same enemies; both were united by the needs of commerce; both mutually esteemed each other on account of their warlike reputation. It was thus that France, after having been during the whole of the Middle Ages at the head of the struggle which Christian Europe sustained against the Mussulman races, was the first to be reconciled with them, in order to derive advantage from their new position. That was, to speak the truth, a great scandal to Christianity; such alliance seemed shameful and unnatural; it was at first kept secret and even formally denied; later, when it was avowed, it excited throughout Europe a general clamour against *the sacrilegious union of the lilies and the crescent.*

The danger, however, was more apparent than real: seeing that the Ottoman power was still in its period of

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growth; seeing that, for a century back, it had been steadily obtaining a footing in Europe, overthrown Byzantium and subjugated all the provinces of the Greek Empire, it was impossible that it could make much further progress. The West was henceforth too strongly constituted to need fear a new invasion; Islamism came too late. It had only taken firm hold upon Greece, isolated by schism from the rest of the Christian commonwealth; already it was exhausting itself in vain efforts against Italy, Spain, and Hungary, and its wrath must extinguish itself, as well as its power, before those foremost barriers of Catholicism. But the throng still terrified itself at the victories of the Turks and demanded a crusade; yet the statesmen disturbed themselves but little with those enemies, and were only desirous of waging with them a political war. The times were no longer those of Charles Martel and of Gregory VII.; a rising in mass of Christians was no longer needed to arrest the infidels; the regular means and ordinary efforts of a few states sufficed. France might therefore, without betraying the cause of Christianity, seek an alliance with the Ottomans.

Was Francis I., in seeking to form such alliance, moved by the political ideas just developed? It cannot be affirmed; especially if it be considered that the policy of that prince was almost always of a passionate character, and ordinarily inspired by the necessities of the moment; but it is certain, although the origin of the alliance was enveloped in mystery and obscurity, that those ideas were entirely conformable to the opinion of his council, and that they inspired the policy of France during three centuries.

Alliance between France and the Porte.—In 1525 Solyman commenced his preparations for invading Hungary in the following year, and he concluded an armistice for seven years with the King of Poland, so that the Hungarian King Louis could hope for no aid in that quarter. An alliance had been also now contracted between France and the Porte. A French embassy to the Sultan was intercepted by the sandjak of Bosnia; the ambassador, whose name does not appear, was

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murdered, together with his twelve attendants, and robbed of all the valuable presents which he was conveying to the Sultan, among them a ruby of great price, which Francis I. had worn on his finger at the battle of Pavia. This ring was subsequently recovered, and was in the possession of Ibrahim in 1533. There is a lurking suspicion that this deed of violence was committed with



FRANCIS I. (*After the Portrait by Titian*).

the privity of Ferdinand of Austria, who appears to have known that negotiations were carrying on between Francis and the Sultan; and the Turks have, indeed, often expressed their horror at the assassinations committed by the House of Austria. After this failure, Francis, whilst still a prisoner at Madrid, contrived to send a member of the Frangipani family as ambassador

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to Constantinople, who succeeded before the end of 1525 in effecting an alliance between the French king and the Sultan. Francis pressed Solyman to invade Hungary whilst the French king attacked Spain, to which arrangement the Sultan in general terms assented, for it was indeed a foregone conclusion in his mind.

Anarchy among the Hungarians.—Early in 1526 the most alarming tidings arrived in Hungary of Solyman's vast preparations for invading that kingdom. The Hungarian magnates, at continual feud with one another, were totally unprepared to resist; the lower classes, who had in great numbers imbibed the doctrines of Luther, justified themselves for not taking up arms, by appealing to one of his propositions, which had been condemned by Leo X. in his bull of excommunication, viz., "That to fight against the Turks is equivalent to struggling against God, who has prepared such rods for chastisement of our sins." Above all, the treasury, ever since the reign of Wladislaus, had been in a state of utter exhaustion. So complete was this poverty, that the capture of Belgrade, five years before, was attributed to the want of fifty florins to defray the expense of conveying to that place the ammunition which was lying ready at Buda.

At length a diet was appointed to assemble on the 24th of April. Solyman, after visiting the graves of his forefathers and of the old Moslem martyrs, had set out the day before from Constantinople with a force of 100,000 men. Fortunately Solyman's march had been retarded by a continuance of bad weather, and he did not reach Belgrade before the 9th of July. A flotilla of 800 vessels had conveyed up the Danube a large body of light-armed Janissaries. Peterwardein was taken on the 15th, the citadel on the 27th. An Hungarian council of war was still disputing at Tolna about the mode of operations, when the columns of flame which arose from the town of Essek, announced that the Turks had crossed the Drave, and were in full march upon the capital. The Chancellor Broderith, writing from Tolna to the

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queen, tells her that he did not expect there would be a force sufficient to meet the enemy within twenty or thirty days. A twelvemonth, however, would scarcely have sufficed, for Solyman's army had swollen as it advanced, and after his junction with Ibrahim, was said to number 300,000 men. Yet the young King of Hungary was compelled by his nobles to throw himself in Solyman's way, although he had not yet been joined by his two chief vassals, the Ban of Croatia and John Zapoly, Woïwode of Transylvania, who was still at Szegedin with his forces. With a little more than 20,000 men, Louis awaited, in the swampy plain of Mohacs, the approach of Solyman's innumerable host, there to decide by the issue of battle the fate of Hungary.

Battle of Mohacs.—The Ottoman army was drawn up in three lines; in the first, the troops of Europe; in the second, those of Anatolia; in the rear, the Sultan with his Janissaries, his spahis, and with cannons, fastened together with iron chains, so as to form a sort of rampart. The ponderous Christian cavalry, headed by King Louis, fell, with its usual impetuosity, upon the first lines, broke them, overthrew them, and penetrated as far as the Sultan. A fearful *mêlée* took place around him, and several blows were dealt upon his armour. Suddenly the Turkish artillery was unmasked; its terrible fire threw the assailants into such disorder that all dispersed. The greater number of the fugitives perished in the marshes which bordered the river, and amongst them doubtless King Louis, whose body was never recovered. That sanguinary battle did not last two hours. It had a great influence over the destinies of Europe, since therein perished the Hungarian nationality.

Solyman crossed over to the left bank of the river, and received at Fældward the keys of Buda, but only approached the capital of Hungary by slow marches, which he entered on the 10th of September. In spite of the express prohibition of the Sultan, the soldiers burned two quarters of the city and the great church. At the same time the *akindschis* spread themselves throughout the

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country, burning the villages and massacring the inhabitants, but not without suffering at times great losses. Wissegrad and Gran successfully resisted; Moroth made an heroic defence; at Bacs, the church, converted into a fortress, was defended during an entire day; between Bacs and Peterwardein the Hungarians made an entrenched camp, the capture of which cost the Turks more men than did the battle of Mohacs. But these partial resistances only served to increase the ferocity of the conquerors, and the number of Hungarians massacred in this campaign is estimated at 200,000. At length the Sultan, after having promised to give them John Zapoly for their king, retook the way to his capital, trailing after him an immense booty.

Revolts in Asia.—Disquieting news from Asia had hastened the return of the Sultan. The Turkomans of Cilicia had revolted on account of the brutalities and exactions of the Turkish agents. They massacred the cadis and the sandjak-bey, defeated the Beylerbey of Karamania, and soon after, near Sivas, those of Roum and Anatolia. The grand vizier was himself compelled to march against them. He negotiated with the revolted Turkomans, succeeded in detaching the rebels from them, and then quickly stamped out the remaining embers of the insurrection.

Affairs in Hungary.—Meanwhile the war continued in Hungary and in the countries annexed to that kingdom, Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, the submission of which was effected in 1528. Solyman had set out from Buda after promising the Hungarians a king in John Zapoly, Woïwode of Transylvania; but another pretender presented himself, Ferdinand of Austria, brother of Charles V., to whom ties of relationship gave claims to the vacant throne. The two rivals encountered each other at Tokay (1527), and Zapoly was conquered; he implored succour from the King of Poland, his father-in-law, and soon after that, of the Porte. His ambassador, with the aid of the Venetian, Louis Gritti, succeeded in gaining over the Vizier Ibrahim to his interests, and received from the

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Sultan a favourable reception (3d February 1528). Soliman made a formal promise to put Zapoly in possession of Hungary, and even signed a treaty of alliance with him. Ferdinand vainly endeavoured to bring over the Sultan to his interests; his envoys were thrown into prison.

Fresh Relations of Francis I. and Solyman.—At this juncture the King of France sent an ambassador to the



CHARLES V. (*From the Original by Holbein*).

Porte. The expedition against Hungary which he had solicited had proved a fresh check to him, since it had furnished to the House of Austria the occasion of enriching itself with two kingdoms. He had more than ever need of the Ottoman alliance. On the other hand, Charles V. began to suspect his rival's relations with the Porte, and accused him openly of treason against Chris-

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tianity. Francis I., becoming uneasy at the clamours to which that denunciation gave rise, denied formally his alliance with the Turks, and told Charles V. that "he lied in his throat." But he not the less continued his relations with Solyman, and sought to make them agreeable in the eyes of Christians and of his subjects, by employing them to protect the faithful in the East, and to restore French influence in those countries.

Second Expedition against Hungary (1529).—While, however, Francis I. was striving by his diplomacy to reunite all the enemies of the House of Austria, Solyman set himself to cut short the question to his own profit by force of arms. The Austrian envoys, after nine months of captivity, were brought into his presence. "Your master," said he, ironically, "has not sufficiently felt up to the present moment the effects of our friendship and of our neighbourhood, but he will know them soon. You may tell him that I shall go in search of him myself with all my forces, and that I earnestly hope to restore with my own hand that which he claims. Tell him also that he may prepare everything for our reception."

Campaign against Hungary.—On the 10th of May 1529, Solyman again quitted Constantinople for Hungary with a large army. It was a pretension of the Turks, that wherever the horse of the Grand Seignior had once trod, and he himself had rested for the night, the Osmanli power was irrevocably established. Solyman had slept in the palace of Buda, and had only refrained from burning it, because he intended returning thither: all Hungary therefore belonged to the Sultan. As a last resource, Ferdinand, wholly unprepared to fight, despatched another ambassador, provided with letters to Solyman and his vizier Ibrahim, couched in the most humble terms, and with instructions to offer a considerable sum under the name of a yearly pension, for that of *tribute* was too degrading. To such a point was Ferdinand content to humble himself! But it was now too late. Before the end of August, Solyman was again encamped with an innumerable host on the blood-stained plain of Mohacs.

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Here, where the pith of his countrymen had been destroyed, King John, at the head of a large body of Hungarian magnates, met the Sultan, and did him homage. He was received with great ceremony, and admitted to kiss the Sultan's hand, but the crown of St Stephen, the palladium of Hungary, which already had adorned the heads of both competitors, was surrendered into Solyman's possession. On September 3, 1529, Solyman again appeared under the walls of Buda, which capitulated after a resistance of five days: but in spite of his engagement, the Sultan was unable to save the garrison from the hands of his Janissaries. Here Zapoly, or King John, was again crowned by the hands of one of the Turkish generals.

Solyman besieges Vienna.—Solyman in person now marched to Vienna, and invested that capital, while Ferdinand was anxiously waiting at Linz till the German princes should assemble round him with their promised succours. Even the Protestants—for the German Reformers had now acquired that name by their celebrated protest at Spires in the spring of this year—had not withheld their assistance from King Ferdinand, and the Elector John of Saxony himself had sent 2000 men under the command of his son. The defence of Vienna against an army of 300,000 Turks with 300 guns, besides a strong flotilla on the Danube, is one of the most brilliant feats in the military history of Germany during the sixteenth century. The van of the Osmanli cavalry appeared before Vienna, September 21st, and in a few days the city was surrounded. A small number of Hungarians accompanied the Turkish army, but King John, who is said to have possessed neither military talents, nor even personal courage, remained at Buda with a garrison of 3000 Osmanli. From the top of St Stephen's Tower the Turkish tents might be discerned scattered over hill and dale for miles, while the white sails of their fleet gleamed on the distant Danube. Ibrahim Pacha, recently appointed seraskier, conducted the operations of the siege. The walls of Vienna were weak and out of repair, and had no bastions on which guns could be planted. The garrison, commanded

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by Philip of Bavaria, as the representative of the Count Palatine Frederick, the imperial commander-in-chief, consisted of 20,000 foot and 2000 cavalry, picked troops from various parts of Germany, including a few Spaniards. They had only seventy-two guns, but these were skilfully disposed. The citizens vied with the troops in valour. The heads of most of the noble Austrian families took part in the sallies: among them the veteran Nicholas von Salm particularly distinguished himself. Solyman sent in a message, that if the garrison would surrender, he would not even enter the town, but press on in search of Ferdinand; if they resisted he would dine in Vienna on the third day, and then he would not spare even the child in the womb. No answer was made; but the preparations for defence were urged on with a dogged resolution, though without much hope of success. The Osmanli, however, had no well-concerted plan of operations. Their army, according to traditional usage, was divided into sixteen different bodies, to each of which a separate place and a definite object were assigned; and although they had made several breaches and mined a portion of the walls, all their assaults were repulsed. The last was delivered October 14th, and in the night they began to retreat. They had several reasons for this course. So large an army could not be provided for during any long-continued siege or blockade, although their flour was conveyed to them by 22,000 camels; already at Michaelmas the Janissaries had begun to complain of the cold; and the forces of the Empire and of Bohemia were beginning to arrive. The Turks in this invasion committed their usual barbarities, and wasted the country up to the very gates of Linz. They suffered much in turn in their retreat, as well from the weapons of their foes as from hunger and bad weather, and did not reach Belgrade till November 10th. Solyman got back to Constantinople, December 16th.

Third Expedition into Hungary—Siege of Güns—Peace with Austria (1531-1533).—In the following spring (1531), a German army entered Hungary and went use-

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lessly to besiege Buda; at the same time, an embassy from King Ferdinand repaired to Constantinople. After enduring the disdain and insults of the grand vizier, it obtained a brief audience, which led to nothing: the Sultan would neither acknowledge Ferdinand as King of Hungary, nor as King of Bohemia, but simply as lieutenant of Charles V., to whom he gave only the title of King of Spain.

In the month of April 1532, Solyman had completed his preparations for avenging the affront undergone before Vienna. His army was raised to more than 300,000 men by reinforcements which he received from Bosnia and the Crimea. Solyman began his march from Constantinople (26th April 1532), with all the magnificence of Oriental pomp. A long train of 120 cannon was followed by 8000 chosen Janissaries, and by droves of camels carrying an enormous quantity of baggage. Then came 2000 horsemen, the spahis of the Porte, with the holy banner, the eagle of the Prophet, gorgeously adorned with pearls and precious stones. Then was borne in state the Sultan's crown, followed by his domestics, 1000 men of gigantic stature, the handsomest that could be found, armed with bows and arrows, some of whom held coupled hounds, while others carried hawks. In the midst of them rode Solyman himself, in a crimson robe trimmed with gold, and a snow-white turban covered with jewels, mounted on a chestnut horse, and armed with a superb sword and dagger. The procession was closed by the Sultan's four viziers, among whom Ibrahim was conspicuous, and the rest of the nobles of the court with their servants. Thus did Solyman inaugurate his march. On the way he was joined by troops from all quarters, so that when he entered Hungary in June his army was estimated at 350,000 men.

Ferdinand had resolved to try the effect of another embassy, which found the Sultan at Belgrade; Rincon, the French ambassador was also there. The Austrians were conducted through a lane of 12,000 Janissaries to Solyman's tent, where they found him sitting on a golden

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throne; near him was his magnificent crown, made at Venice, at the cost of 115,000 ducats; before the legs or pillars of his throne were two gorgeous swords, in sheaths set with pearls; also bows and quivers richly ornamented. The ambassadors estimated the value of what they saw at 1,200,000 ducats. Their errand was, of course, fruitless.

On the 20th July the Turks crossed the Drave at Essek on twelve bridges of boats. The march of Soliman through Hungary resembled a progress in his own dominions. The fortresses sent him their keys as he approached, and he tried and punished the magnates who had deserted Zapoly. The Turkish fleet also ascended the Danube as far as Presburg; at which point Solyman, instead of directing his march towards Vienna, turned to the south, and leaving the Neusiedler lake on his right, took the road to Styria. On the 1st of August he arrived before the little town of Güns. This insignificant and ill-fortified place was destined to inflict upon Solyman the most humiliating disgrace ever experienced by the overweening pride of Oriental despotism since the memorable invasion of Attica by Xerxes. All that pomp and splendour of Eastern warfare, all those myriads of Turkish troops, led by the Grand Seignior in person, were detained more than three weeks by a garrison of about 700 men, of which only thirty were regular troops, and those cavalry. Under the command of Nicholas Jurissich, who had been one of the Austrian ambassadors to the Porte, this heroic little band repulsed no fewer than eleven assaults, and the Sultan was at length obliged to content himself with a capitulation, by which ten Janissaries were allowed to remain an hour in the place in order to erect a Turkish standard. This delay, and the defeat by Sebastian Schärtlin of a body of 15,000 Turkish horse who were to enter Austria by the Sommering Pass, proved the saving of the country. The French and Venetian ambassadors in Solyman's camp advised him not to venture with an army thus weakened, and discouraged a general engagement with Charles's fresh and well-organised forces, and the diversion caused

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by Andria Doria with his fleet in the Morea served to support this advice; who, after capturing Coron, Patras, and the two castles which defend the entrance to the Gulf of Lepanto, the Dardanelles of the Morea, had landed his troops, and excited the Greeks to revolt. After investing Grätz, which was well defended, Solyman reluctantly abandoned an enterprise for which he had made such vast preparations, and on the success of which he had so proudly relied. Charles was prevented from pursuing the retreating enemy by the lateness of the season, the want of provisions, the sickness which began to prevail among his troops, and the desire of several of the princes to return to their homes; yet, on the whole, his first appearance at the head of his armies had been attended with considerable glory and success. The subsequent dispersion of the imperial army much annoyed King Ferdinand, who had hoped to recover with it the whole of Hungary, Belgrade included; but the German leaders would not listen to such a proposal. For fear of such an event, however, Solyman, at the request of Zapoly, left 60,000 men behind at Essek. In the following year (22d June 1533) a peace was concluded at Constantinople between Ferdinand's ambassadors and the Porte, by which the former was to retain all that he held in Hungary, and make what terms he pleased with Zapoly.

League between Francis I. and Solyman.—The views of Francis I. embraced, besides an attack upon the Netherlands, large operations in Italy, to be assisted by an invasion by Sultan Solyman. The French envoy, La Forêt, had concluded with the vizier Ibrahim, in January 1536, an alliance, which, under the appearance of a commercial treaty, was, in fact, a political league; and it was arranged that in 1537 Barbarossa should transport an Osmanli army into Apulia for the conquest of Naples, while Francis should cause a diversion in the north by entering Lombardy with 5000 men.

Solyman, in pursuance of his engagement, had assembled a vast force at Avlona, whence the coast of

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Otranto may be discerned, and Barbarossa was in readiness to transport the Turkish army with a fleet of 100 sail, which had been joined by the French admiral, the Baron St Blancard, with twelve galleys. All Italy was in consternation. Pope Paul prepared to fly from Rome; the garrisons were strengthened in all the ports belonging to the Roman states; Andria Doria, the imperial admiral, was compelled to put into Messina to escape Barbarossa's fleet, and left the coasts of Apulia exposed to the descents of the Turks. Barbarossa landed 10,000 cavalry near Otranto, but, being unprovided with artillery, they could effect nothing against the larger towns, and contented themselves with making an attempt on Castro, wasting the open country, and carrying off about 10,000 persons into slavery. Francis, however, neglected to appear in Italy at the appointed time, and Solyman therefore did not follow up the invasion. Moreover, the Ottoman army, divided into several corps, had to sustain in partial rencontres a series of sanguinary checks. In spite of the rewards which were distributed on its return, in spite of the pompous letters of victory sent by the Sultan into all the provinces, that retreat, like the first, resembled a defeat.

War with Persia—Chaireddin Barbarossa.—Since the commencement of Solyman's reign, peace had never been solidly established between Persia and the Ottomans: the reciprocal defections of certain governors of frontier towns at length brought about a complete rupture. After a triumphal expedition against that country which extended the frontiers of the empire on its eastern side, the Ottoman fleets came to close quarters with the marine of Charles V. Two remarkable men then directed the naval forces of the two empires: the Genoese Andria Doria, the Emperor's admiral, and, on the part of the Turks, the celebrated Chaireddin, known under the appellation of Barbarossa (*Red-beard*). This adventurer was of Greek and Christian origin, the son of a spahi of Mitylene; and, according to the too frequent custom of the inhabitants of the Archipelago, he had devoted him-

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self, with his brother Baba-Aroudj, to piracy during the reign of Bajazet II. The two brothers entered the service of the Sultan of Tunis, Mahommed, of the family of the Beni-Hafsz. Having captured a Christian ship, they sent it to Constantinople, and received as a reward from the Sultan two galleys, and caftans of honour. They then strove to seize upon some port on the coast of Barbary, made attempts upon Cherchell, Bougia, and Algiers, where the princes of the Beni-Hafsz reigned. In the end, Aroudj seized upon Cherchell, then upon Tlemcen; where he was attacked by the Spaniards, and perished in a sortie. Barbarossa made himself master of Algiers by assassinating the Moorish prince, and did homage for his conquest to the Sultan Selim, who had then just conquered Egypt, and received from him the title of Beylerbey of Algiers. From that port, numerous corsairs began from that time to set sail, infesting the coasts of Spain and Italy and the western basin of the Mediterranean. Solyman, at the period of his alliance with Francis I., having forbidden Barbarossa to attack French vessels, the latter took his revenge upon those of Spain; he dispersed one of their squadrons, and carried away from the coast of Andalusia 70,000 persecuted Moors who helped to people Africa.

When Andria Doria had seized upon Coron, Barbarossa was ordered to Constantinople; after having, by the way, burnt eighteen vessels in sight of Messina and captured two sail of Doria's fleet, he reached the capital of the empire at the moment of the commencement of the Persian war. Barbarossa was, however, received with distinction; he was created capudan-pacha, and obtained investiture as Beylerbey of Algiers. The winter was occupied in equipping a formidable fleet, with which he set sail in the spring; it consisted of eighty-four ships. This armament was directed at first against Italy; Reggio, Fondi, and the strongholds of the coast were sacked; then, steering towards the coast of Africa, Barbarossa appeared before Tunis, where reigned Muley Hassan, one of those ferocious and effeminate tyrants of which the

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Moorish dynasties reckoned so many. He presented himself as a liberator, promising the inhabitants to give them the brother of Muley as their ruler, who had taken refuge in his fleet; then, once master of the city, he took possession of it in the name of the Sultan.

The progress of the Ottoman power upon the African coast became disquieting to the sovereign of Spain and Italy. Charles V., therefore, resolved to retake Tunis, not only in the interest of his African possessions, but also in the hope of dealing a mortal blow to the Turco-French alliance, which could only become effective by its maritime power. A powerful armament was prepared, and the Emperor took command of it himself. On the 16th of June 1535, he disembarked before the fort of the Goulette, and carried it after a month of siege and continual fighting. Barbarossa, despairing of defending the town, in which he had to struggle with the ill-will of the inhabitants, risked an encounter in the open country. Abandoned by his African auxiliaries, he was forced to take flight. Tunis was pillaged for three days by the conquerors, 30,000 inhabitants were massacred, 50,000 Christian captives had their chains broken. The Spaniards re-established Muley Hassan, on condition that he should pay tribute, and leave to the Christians the free exercise of their religion. They kept possession of the Fort Goulette.

First Capitulations of the Porte with France.—That feat of arms filled up the measure of the power and glory of Charles V. Europe looked upon him no longer save as the liberator of the Christians, the terror of the infidels, and his panegyrists took care to contrast his conduct with that of his rival, who had allied himself with the enemies of Christianity. That alliance was no longer a secret to any one; Francis I. formed the resolution of avowing it openly, in order to acquire the right of drawing from it all the advantage possible. An official envoy, the Chevalier Jean de la Forêt, was sent to the Sultan, whom he met with at Tebriz (1535); he opened negotiations, ostensibly limited to the capitulations made in

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favour of the French merchants by the Sultans, but which were destined to have grave results. These negotiations led to a diplomatic act which was at bottom a veritable treaty, but which had not the form of one, because the Ottoman pride seemed only to make concessions without granting reciprocity. It was therefore under the form of a *hatti-cherif*, that is to say, an order emanating from the Sultan, that the first conventions which united France and the Porte appeared, and that *hatti-cherif* was the basis of all the capitulations concluded since that period between the two powers.

The treaty was signed at Constantinople early in February 1536, on the return from the Persian campaign. Solyman gives therein to Francis I. the title which he himself bore, that of *Padischah*, which European diplomacy has translated by the title of Emperor. It was a very great distinction, for that title was looked upon as sacred by the Osmanli, and was only accorded afterwards to one Christian monarch, the Czar of Russia, in 1774.

The conclusion of that treaty was the last political act of the grand vizier, Ibrahim. That arrogant minister set no bounds to the abuse of his favour. During the negotiations with Austria he had made a display of his authority which offended the Sultan. During the campaign in Persia he desired to lodge alone with his master in the palaces of Tebriz and Bagdad; he wrung from him first the deposition, then the condemnation to death of the Defterdar Iskender Tchelebi, whose wealth and fame gave him umbrage; finally, on his return, he assumed in his "orders of the day," and even in the treaty with the King of France, the significant title of *Seraskier-Sultan*. This last effrontery filled up the measure of his presumption. On the 5th of March 1536, Ibrahim repaired to the Seraglio, as was his custom; the next day he was found strangled therein. In the middle of the seventeenth century, traces of his blood were still shown upon the walls. He had for successor the Albanian Ayas Pacha.

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CHAPTER VII.

REIGN OF SOLYMAN FROM THE CAPITULATIONS WITH FRANCE TO HIS DEATH (1536-1566).

War against the Venetians.—After the failure of Barbarossa's attempt on Italy, Solyman turned against Venice the preparations he had made for the conquest of Naples; in which design he was encouraged by the French envoy, La Forêt. In August 1537, the Turkish armament assembled at Avlona was directed against Corfu. The attack, however, was repulsed; Solyman was compelled by disturbances in Asia to withdraw great part of his forces, leaving only enough to besiege Napoli di Romania and Malvasia, the chief towns held by the Venetians in the Morea. Barbarossa with his fleet, closely followed by the French squadron under St Blancard, proceeded to attack the islands of the Archipelago and the Ægean, most of which fell during this year and the next into the hands of the Turks.

As the Turkish hordes were pressing on from Bosnia towards Essek, Ferdinand's general, Katzianer, advanced with an army of about 24,000 men, mostly Germans, to keep them in check; but being surrounded by the Osmanli cavalry, he was compelled to make a disastrous retreat, in which he lost all his artillery (November 1536), while his army was dispersed and almost entirely cut up. After this no warlike movements of any importance occurred for some time.

In June 1541, Solyman in person began his march towards Hungary, and entered Buda without resistance (25th August 1541), before the forces voted by the Diet of Ratisbon, under the command of Count Furstenberg, could come up. A Turkish government, under a pacha of three tails, was now established in the Hungarian capital, the principal church was converted into a mosque, and Buda remained in the hands of the infidels for nearly a century and a half. In 1543, Solyman again

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appeared in Hungary, and, after a short stay at Buda, laid siege to Gran. The garrison made a brave defence, till the gilt cross on the cathedral having been shot away, they were struck with a superstitious terror, and surrendered (August 10th).

Barbarossa's Last Expedition—His Insolence at Toulon.—The capture of Nice was the sole result of a naval armament which ought to have annihilated the Spanish fleet, and which cost France dearly. Barbarossa, however, had liberty to winter at Toulon. During their stay there, his followers had acted as if they were in an enemy's country, and furnished the benches of their galleys by carrying off all the men they could seize on the adjacent coasts, while the women served to supply their harems. Nay, Barbarossa even took the crews out of the royal galleys and left them totally useless. To induce so dangerous an ally to quit Toulon, Francis made him a payment of 800,000 crowns. Barbarossa sailed in April for Constantinople, and again spread terror and desolation along the coasts of Italy, whence he carried off 14,000 Christians. That expedition raised such a chorus of imprecations throughout Europe that, the following year (1544), Francis refused the services Barbarossa offered him in his master's name, and concluded a peace at Crespy. This was the corsair-captain's last notable exploit. He died two years after at a very advanced age (4th July 1546). His tomb may be seen at Beschiklasch, on the shore of the Bosphorus, at the point where the Ottoman fleets usually muster.

In 1546, negotiations were set on foot with the view to put an end to that war which dragged its course so tediously: they were prolonged till 1547. Ferdinand and Charles V. were desirous of peace, which had become necessary for both, and consented to pay an annual subsidy, the Ottoman ministers stipulating for the evacuation of several places. These difficulties were taken advantage of by the French ambassador, D'Aramon; he announced that his master had decided upon a resumption of hostilities; he represented to the Sultan the fresh embarrassments

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which the revolt of the Lutheran princes had caused the Emperor, and solicited a new and effective alliance. The death of Francis I., which happened in March 1547, destroyed these projects and hastened the conclusion of the treaty; on the 19th of June following, a truce of five years was concluded with the Sultan, the Emperor, and King Ferdinand, by means of an annual present of 30,000 ducats which the latter agreed to pay for the portion of Hungary which remained in his power.

War in Asia.—Free in Europe, Solyman profited by it to extend his domination on the side of Asia. During the ten years, the main incidents of which we have just related, the affairs of Europe had assumed sufficient importance to absorb his entire attention. In 1547, at the moment he was about to conclude the treaty with Austria, arrived a Persian prince, Elkazib Mirza, the rebel son of the Shah, who came to place himself under the protection of the Porte. War against Persia was instantly resolved upon. In the spring of 1548, Solyman passed into Asia. He conquered a portion of Persian Kurdistan, entered for the second time as victor into Tebriz, and seized upon the fortress of Van. Prince Elkazib Mirza, with an army of Kurds and volunteers, advanced nearly to Ispahan, and sent the Sultan a portion of his booty; but soon after, distrusting the Ottomans, he strove to sustain himself by his own forces only, was taken by his brother and imprisoned. After having effected, by his lieutenants, the conquest of a part of Georgia, Solyman returned to Constantinople in December 1549.

Affairs of Hungary (1551).—Ere long the flames of war were rekindled in Hungary. Queen Isabella, relict of King John, had placed her confidence in the monk Georges Martinuzzi, whom Zapoly, when on his deathbed, had recommended to her. That ambitious and intriguing monk had an understanding with Ferdinand, and induced the queen to cede Transylvania and the banat of Temesvar to him. At the same time he protested his zeal for Solyman, and kept him in a fatal

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security by false reports. Already the treaty was concluded and signed, already a German army was on its march, a national insurrection was organised, and Martinuzzi still wrote to Constantinople to contradict what he called the calumnious reports. At length Solyman declared that, in the incertitude, he was about to send his troops into Hungary, and the act quickly followed the menace. Ferdinand, after the conclusion of the peace, had left at Constantinople a *chargé d'affaires*, whom the Sultan had accepted under the name of a hostage. He was thrown into prison, and then an army of 80,000 men crossed the Danube (September 1551). The greater number of the strongholds occupied by the Germans surrendered without striking a blow; but Transylvania rose at the call of Martinuzzi, on whom Ferdinand had just bestowed a cardinal's hat. Lippa was carried by assault (7th November), the cardinal-monk being himself at the head of the assailants, and was one of the first to mount to the assault. Soon after he meditated a fresh treason; aspiring, probably, to make himself Prince of Transylvania, he made overtures with the view of regaining the favour of Solyman. Ferdinand, informed of his new intrigues, caused him to be assassinated (18th December 1551).

The following year was opened by a defeat of the imperialists. After capturing Szegedin, they were surprised before the town and cut in pieces. The second vizier, Ahmed Pacha, took Temesvar, and all the banat returned under Ottoman domination. The struggle had also recommenced at sea: a follower of Barbarossa, the corsair Torghud, called by the Europeans Dragut, sustained the reputation of the Ottoman navy, and rendered himself almost as formidable to the Christians as his predecessor.

The alliance with France, however, was not broken; Henry II., foreseeing a speedy resumption of arms, had taken care to keep up friendly relations with the Porte. D'Aramon, his ambassador, on his return to France, after having accompanied the Sultan in his Persian expedition,

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finding that war had broken out again, set out immediately for the Levant. Arrived in Turkey, he opposed steadfastly the violence exercised by the capudan-pacha upon the isle of Scio; and looking upon, as he said, all the Christians as his compatriots, he procured for the inhabitants the privileges which they have in part preserved down to our days. Finally, he obtained the Sultan's consent that the Ottoman fleet, commanded by Dragut, should join the French fleet under the command of Paulin (1553).

This was the last time, until the present century, that the French and the Turks were seen fighting in the same ranks. Several cities and strongholds were captured; but dissensions broke out amongst them, and the two fleets separated. The alliance continued to subsist, but it ceased to be that which it had been since 1536, effective, direct, offensive. Such a result was inevitable. France had entered into the alliance in order to limit the House of Austria; Turkey to invade more easily the countries of Christendom. The first partly attained its object by the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, which suspended its struggle against Austria for seventy-six years; the second saw itself cheated of its hopes, since Hungary, Italy, and Spain had opposed invincible barriers to it. The alliance was therefore less useful to both parties; it became naturally less intimate, more restrained, and was directed almost solely by the Kings of France to the interests of commerce and the protection of the Christians in the East. Moreover, the political ideas of Solyman—ideas so full of grandeur and dignity, which alone could give the Ottomans a European existence—became enfeebled by degrees, and ended by disappearing almost entirely amongst his successors. As for the sons of Henry II., guided by their astute mother, they followed, notwithstanding their stormy reigns, the policy of their grandfather with much activity and intelligence; but if, amidst the religious fury which ensanguined their kingdom, they had been desirous of continuing the scandal that Francis I. had given to Christendom by uniting his arms with those of the in-

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fidels, they would have been infallibly driven from the throne.

The Sultana Roxalana—Death of Mustapha.—Whilst war was being waged in Europe to the advantage of the Turks, the Shah of Persia having resumed the offensive in Asia, and obtained divers successes upon the frontiers, the grand vizier was ordered to oppose him.

The post of grand vizier was then filled by Rustem Pacha, the most favoured of Solyman's ministers since the fall of Ibrahim. He was sustained by the patronage of the favourite sultana, the celebrated Khourum-Sultana, whom Solyman, by pre-eminent distinction, acknowledged as his legitimate wife. This seductive woman, stated by several writers to have been a Frenchwoman named Roxalana, was a Russian slave. She obtained an ascendancy altogether extraordinary over her master, and contributed powerfully to ruin the favourite, who during sixteen years had shared the Sultan's authority. She had a son, Selim, for whose accession to the throne she successfully strove, and who became the unworthy successor of Solyman. She had also a daughter, who was given in marriage to Rustem, then third vizier. Speedily the fortunate son-in-law of the Sultan was raised from favour to favour even to the highest dignity of the empire. The Persian campaign of 1548 had been undertaken at the instigation of the Sultana, in order to give Rustem the opportunity of displaying his military talents, and he was made commander-in-chief. He set out, furnished with instructions from his benefactress, and soon after rendered her a repulsive service. Scarcely had he entered upon the campaign when he wrote to the Sultan that seditious movements had broken out in the army in favour of Prince Mustapha, Solyman's eldest son. In reality, Mustapha must have seen with secret discontent his young brother, Selim, made governor of Magnesia; for it was in that government of Magnesia, the nearest to the capital, the heirs designated by the Sultan ordinarily awaited the moment of ascending the throne. Mustapha, by his brilliant qualities, by his valour and generosity,

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had won the affection of the Janissaries; and the protection which he gave to letters rendered him equally dear to poets and learned men. The vizier asserted that the soldiers already spoke of deposing the decrepit padischah, and proclaiming Mustapha his successor. At this news Solyman hastened to pass over into Asia, and take command of the army. Prince Mustapha went to join the camp near Ercyli (5th October 1553); on the morrow of his arrival, when he presented himself in the Sultan's tent, he was there received by the mutes, armed with the fatal bowstring; and the unfortunate prince perished whilst vainly calling for his father, who, concealed behind a curtain, was present during that horrible scene. A son of Mustapha, left at Broussa, was torn by craft from his mother's arms and put to death; and his brother Dschihangir, linked with him in the closest ties of love, followed him speedily to the grave. The Janissaries, in their first burst of indignation, mutinied, but they were appeased by the deposition of the grand vizier, to whom public opinion attributed those murders; and the army began its march towards the Persian frontier.

Revolt and Death of Bajazet.—The Hungarian war continued almost without interruption; yet in spite of the fury with which it was waged, negotiations went on, and the zealous efforts of Ferdinand's agents at last effected a truce of six months, a measure more especially attributable to fresh embarrassments caused the Sultan by the revolt of his son Bajazet.

That revolt was the work of Lala Mustapha, the former preceptor of Bajazet, become the confidant of Selim and grand master of his court. That intriguer, having a perfect understanding with his new master, undertook to put arms into Bajazet's hands; provoked him against his brother by representing that Selim had rendered himself odious by his debauchery, that the nation would prefer him to Selim, and was ready to support him. Following this advice, Bajazet sent his brother an insulting letter, together with a distaff and female vestments, all of which Selim sent to the Sultan. Solyman, irritated, threatened

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Bajazet with disgrace, and ordered him to exchange his government of Konieh for that of Amasia. The prince, instead of obeying, burned his father's letters, put the messengers to death, and took up arms. The vizier, Sokolli, was sent to reduce him. After a fight which lasted two days (30th and 31st May 1561), the rebel prince was conquered; he fled to Amasia, whence he wrote a humble and penitent letter to his father; Lala Mustapha intercepted the missive, and Bajazet, receiving no answer, and finding himself actively pursued, fled into Persia. He was received by the Shah with great pomp and demonstrations of friendship; but care was taken to disarm or disperse the troops he had brought with him. Messengers speedily arrived from Solyman and Selim, demanding the extradition of the rebel. After a long and secret negotiation the Persian monarch consented to surrender his guest; but to keep unbroken his promise not to deliver him up to his father, he remitted him to the agents of his brother Selim, who murdered him with his five sons (25th September 1561). The throne was thus secured to Selim, who remained the sole heir of Solyman.

War with Hungary renewed.—The peace signed with Austria had already been broken. At the death of Ferdinand (1564), Maximilian, his successor, demanded the renewal of the truce. But, at that moment, the son of Zapoly, Sigismund, attacked the Austrian town of Szathmar and took it. Maximilian replied to that attack by surprising Tokay. During the course of the discussions to which this double infraction of the peace gave rise, the vizier, Ali Pacha, died (1565). His successor was Mohammed Sokolli, a Bosnian slave, the greatest minister the Turkish Empire ever had; he breathed nothing but war against Austria, and it recommenced immediately.

Death of Solyman.—Solyman the Magnificent left Constantinople at the head of a vast army with all the pomp of war, May 1st, 1566. At Semlin he received John Sigismund with royal honours (June 29th), and declared that he had come to vindicate his cause against the

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House of Austria. It was Solyman's intention to ascend the course of the Danube, had not a feat of arms of Count Zriny diverted his attention to the little town of Sigeth, the family seat of that nobleman, near Fünfkirchen. In a sally which he made, Zriny had defeated and killed near Siklos a favourite pacha of the Sultan, and Solyman, to punish him, directed against Sigeth his army of 100,000 men and 300 guns. But this siege afforded another instance of the unskilfulness of the Turks in such operations. Zriny made a valorous defence for nearly five weeks, when the place was at last captured, and he himself beheaded on one of his own cannons. But the enterprise cost the Turks 20,000 men, and among them the great Sultan himself, who died September 4th, 1566, from the consequences of fatigue and the unwholesome air of the marshes.

The Sultan's death was kept concealed for three weeks; the letters announcing victories were despatched in his name; the Divan assembled as usual; and the vizier directed affairs until the moment when he learned that the heir to the throne had arrived in Constantinople.

Character of Solyman.—Solyman had long been in bad health. Besides the gout, he was subject to attacks of melancholy, and lay sometimes totally unconscious in a swoon or trance. Navagero[1] describes him, at the age of sixty-two, as much above the middle height, but meagre, and of a yellow complexion; yet there was a wonderful grandeur in his look, accompanied with a gentleness that won all hearts. He was a rigid Mussulman, and insisted on a precise observance of all the precepts of the Koran. He was very temperate in his diet, ate but little meat, and amused himself chiefly with hunting. In his moments of depression he was accustomed to humble himself before God, and composed spiritual hymns, in which he compared his nothingness with the power of the Almighty. He was very scrupulous in keeping his word; he loved justice, and never

[1] "Relatione" of Navagero, in Alberi's Collection.

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knowingly did wrong to anybody. In short, allowance being made for his Turkish education and prejudices, he may be very advantageously compared with several Christian princes, his contemporaries.

CHAPTER VIII.

REIGNS OF SELIM II. AND AMURATH III. (1566-1595).

Selim II., surnamed the Drunkard (1566-1574).—When Selim's retinue made its appearance at the Sublime Porte they found the entrance obstructed by a dense crowd of unruly Janissaries clamorous for the accession donative, and disposed to show very little respect for their new sultan. The present was at length accorded; and numerous other gratifications, distributed amongst the officers of the Seraglio and to the ulemas, ended by exhausting the treasury. Thus opened the reign of Solyman's successor.

Selim is the first of the Ottoman sultans who proved to be utterly unworthy of the throne. He began the series of do-nothing princes whose personal nullity has powerfully contributed to the decadence of the empire. From early youth, he was stupefied by the immoderate use of wine, and when governor of Magnesia he was already designated by the appellation of *the Drunkard*. Lazy and cowardly, he had always preferred the repose of the harem to the fatigues and dangers of war. His stature short and obese, his flushed complexion and insignificant physiognomy, typified vividly the decadence of the nation. Happily he had the good sense to leave all the cares of government to his vizier Sokolli, who preserved the traditions of the last great reign, and maintained the dignity of the empire in its foreign relations. The decadence only became visible after his death.

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Immediately after the capture of Sigeth, negotiations for peace were opened; the Austrian ambassadors were set free, and the conditions upon which it was possible to treat made known to them. At length peace was concluded 17th February 1568; but to obtain this, the Austrian envoys were obliged to distribute to the Turkish ministers more than 40,000 ducats.

Expedition against Cyprus.—The attention of Selim was now directed towards the south, and to the conquest of Cyprus and Arabia, by which his reign is chiefly distinguished.

The story runs that the wine-bibbing Selim was incited to undertake the Cyprian war by his favourite Don Miquez, a Portuguese Jew, whom, after his accession, he had made Duke of Naxos and of the twelve principal Cyclades, and who represented to the sultan in glowing colours the excellence of the wine of Cyprus. However this may be, Selim, it is certain, assigned no reason for the war but his will. On the 1st of July 1570, a Turkish fleet of 360 sail, under the command of Piali, appeared off the southernmost point of the island, and landed without opposition an army of 50,000 men under Mustapha Pacha. The Venetians having only 3000 soldiers in Cyprus, the defence of the open country was at once abandoned, and all their efforts restricted to defend the towns of Nicosia and Famagosta. Nicosia was taken September 9th, and great part of the inhabitants massacred. Famagosta, defended by Marc Antonio Bragadino, did not capitulate till August 1, 1571. The Turks retired in the winter, during which the town was relieved by the Venetians, who, however, did not strike a single blow in its defence. In spite of the capitulation, Mustapha had the barbarity to cause the valiant Bragadino to be flayed alive and quartered. During this war the Turks inflicted also great damage and disgrace upon the Venetians on the coasts of Albania and Dalmatia.

The Holy League.—But these proceedings roused the anger of the fiery and enthusiastic Pius V., one of whose darling projects had always been to curb the power and

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insolence of the Turk. By his exertions an alliance against the Sultan, called the Holy League, was at length concluded between himself, Philip II., the Venetians, and one or two other minor powers. The French offered nothing but their good offices. Before the end of September 1571, the allied fleet, consisting of 77 Spanish, 6 Maltese, and 3 Savoyard galleys, under Don John of Austria, 12 papal galleys under Marc Colonna, and 108 Venetian galleys and 6 galeazzi under Sebastian Ventero, captain-general at sea, assembled at Messina.

Battle of Lepanto (1571).—The Osmanli fleet of 300 sail, under the capudan-pacha, Musinsade Ali, lay in the Gulf of Lepanto. The Christians resolved to attack it; the Turks came out to meet them; and on the 7th of October 1571, was fought, off the isles of Kursolari, the memorable battle of Lepanto. The fight lasted till late in the evening. The Turks lost 224 ships and 30,000 men; the Christians only 15 galleys and 8000 men. In this battle, which, though really won by the power of Venice, created the reputation of Don John of Austria, were also present two men who, like him, were afterwards to be governors of the Netherlands: Don Louis de Requesens, grand-commander of Castile, and Alexander Farnese, the nephew of Don John. A fourth name may be added, subsequently immortalised in literature—that of Cervantes, the author of "Don Quixote," who was wounded and lost his left arm in this battle.

Death of Selim II. (1574).—A peace being finally concluded, March 7, 1573, Venice surrendered Cyprus to the Turks, and consented to pay a double tribute for Zante, the only return obtained by the Venetians for these sacrifices being the continuance of their commercial privileges in the Levant.

This peace was the last important act of the reign of Sultan Selim II., who died from the consequences of a debauch, December 12, 1574. Towards the end of his reign began the first disputes of the Porte with Russia, which were afterwards destined to assume so colossal an importance; and hence this period may be regarded as

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forming a sort of epoch in the history of the Turks in Europe.

Amurath III. (1574-1595)—First Acts of his Reign.—In spite of the nullity of Selim II., his death was a misfortune for the empire, in that it put an end to the omnipotence of Mahommed Sokolli, who reigned under his name. His successor restrained the authority of the vizier, and yielded everything to the influence of women and favourites. Amurath III. was brave, humane, a friend of letters, and held out bright hopes for his future career; but soon two passions developed themselves in him even to frenzy—lust and avarice, by which he was reduced to imbecility. He passed his life in the seraglio, surrounded by eunuchs, women, and buffoons, occupied with the contemplation of his treasures, and only interfering in affairs of state in order to allow the caprices of the slaves who governed him to dominate. He arrived at Constantinople on the 21st December, and during the night caused his five brothers to be strangled. Next day, he received the homage of the grandees. Ranged around him, the officers of the seraglio awaited in silence the first word which should fall from his lips; for the Orientals have preserved that superstition of the ancients, which regarded as a presage the first words uttered. "I am hungry," said he; "let them give me something to eat." Those words were considered as of bad omen, of which a famine that occurred during that year seemed to be the accomplishment.

One of the first acts of the new Sultan was a decree against the use of wine. Under the reign of Selim II., drunkenness, encouraged by his example, had scandalously increased; the public functionaries even sold wine openly. One day that Amurath was passing the door of a tavern, some Janissaries held up their glasses, shouting aloud that they drank to his health; this induced him to issue the decree. Some days after a mutiny broke out amongst the spahis and Janissaries, and the grand vizier himself was insulted and maltreated. Thereupon, it was announced that the soldiers would be allowed to drink

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wine, provided they abstained from committing violence.

In the early part of the year 1575, it became known that Henry of Valois had deserted his throne of Poland to return to France. Thus miscarried the sole chance of securing the accession of Poland to the Turco-French alliance, an accession which would not only have checked the aggrandisement of Austria, but hindered the rise of Russia. Amurath was so dissatisfied with the flight of Henry III. that he did not notify his accession to the court of France. The Polish magnates having sent a deputation to compliment the new Sultan, he recommended for their suffrages the Woïwode of Transylvania, Stephen Bathory, who was elected at the end of 1575.

War with Hungary.—The commencement of the new reign was marked, as usual, by hostilities in Hungary. Villages were burned on different points of the frontier, attempts were made against several fortresses, and a battle fought in the environs of Kruppa, in which the imperialists were defeated; their chiefs perished in the action, and their heads were sent to Constantinople, where the Austrian ambassador was compelled to redeem them from the hands of the executioner. The Emperor Rodolph, who succeeded Maximilian II. in 1576, made certain protests, the result of which was, that peace was formally renewed for eight years from the 1st January 1577; but perpetual aggressions on one part or the other continued to disturb the peace without breaking it, until the last years of Amurath's reign.

Relations with Poland.—The attitude of the Porte was very nearly the same towards Poland: a nominal peace and actual hostilities. Bathory protested on several occasions against the aggressions of the Tartars; a treaty was concluded, 30th July 1577, a treaty by which he was promised protection. However, the incursions continued; his envoys were rudely rebuffed, and he was threatened with war. Poland was treated like Transylvania, as a vassal and tributary state; in the last truce with Austria it was included in the number of the countries

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protected by the Porte, without giving it the title of kingdom.

Relations with Venice and France.—Venice had less cause of complaint, thanks to the dominant influence of the favourite Sultana, the Venetian Baffa. She obtained the renewal of the capitulations and greater security for her commerce. As for the alliance with France, it was respected; the Baron de Germigny, then ambassador, succeeded in acquiring great influence in the Divan. An embassy from the Sultan to the French Court had a magnificent reception, and it presented a letter to Henry III., in which Amurath offered him, with his friendship, "his naval army, comprising eighty galleys." "I have made him," says Germigny in his report, "a reciprocal offer of yours, but in general terms, to make him relish and prize the grandeur and power of your Majesty." The restriction was necessary with Henry III., who was compelled, from the want of a navy, to send his ambassadors to Constantinople on board a Venetian vessel.

In spite of all those offers, those professions of friendship, those concessions, Germigny appreciated at its proper value the alliance and benevolence of the Turks. He foresaw the decadence of that empire, which had no longer a Solyman to direct it. "They prefer," he says, "a small present commodity to the forethought of a good or evil of much more importance to their State; so far are they blinded by ignorance, conjoined with extreme avarice, perfidy, and iniquity, which they possess in such disorderly confusion, that they seem to have reached their last period."

Germigny's ill humour was justified by several acts. Scarcely two years had elapsed since the renewal of the capitulations with France, when Queen Elizabeth of England, whose ships had only until then navigated the Ottoman waters under the French flag, demanded from the Sultan freedom of navigation and commerce for her subjects under their own flag. The ambassador charged with this negotiation was Harebone, or Harburn. The Sultan acceded to the demand, in spite of the lively

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opposition of the ambassadors of France and Venice, giving as a reason that "the Sublime Porte was open to all those who came thither to seek protection."

Venality of the Porte.—That maxim received, at this period, very numerous applications. The overtures of the Christian agents of all nations were encouraged by the viziers, the great officers of the seraglio and the army, the favourites of both sexes, for whom it was a source of revenue. The venality of the grandees was never more scandalous: everything was bartered for within and without, and the Sultan was the first to set the example. That general venality invited to Constantinople agents from all the commercial states of Europe. Even the Swiss entered into negotiations through the medium of an Italian Jew. Spain at last, in 1578, made propositions for peace, and sent an ambassador. It required five years of thorny negotiation to reconcile that haughty enemy to the Porte, and still the peace was very imperfect and frequently violated.

Whilst these negotiations and treaties enriched the Sultan and his ministers, treasure was amassed in another way—the fruit of piracy, which no treaties stopped. The corsairs of Algiers, of Tunis, and Tripoli, pillaged almost indiscriminately friends and foes, and the Porte compelled them to disgorge. Transforming them into regencies or pachalics, those three cities were made to pay an annual tribute. In 1578 the Pacha of Tripoli was ordered to carry succour to the Cherif of Fez, who had implored the aid of the Porte against a competitor; the latter, on his part, invoked the Portuguese, who landed with an army of 80,000 men. A great battle was fought near Alcazar Kebir; 20,000 Portuguese were left on the field, with their king, Sebastian, and the Moorish pretender; an immense disaster, from which dates the decadence of Portugal. That brilliant victory brought to the Ottomans rich presents from the Cherif and a dominating influence in the Mogreb.

These successes were sadly atoned for by the fall of the grand vizier, Mahommed Sokolli. Powerful through the

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Sultan's weakness, the favourites laboured at his ruin, and urged the prince to take the direction of affairs. At first, disgrace fell upon the friends of Sokolli, but shortly a more direct blow was struck against the grand vizier; his nephew, Mustapha Pacha, who, since the death of Solyman, had been governor of Ofen, was executed. The year after, Sokolli was assassinated in his palace. The murderer, put to the torture, made no confession; the crime was laid to the account of private vengeance (1579).

Osman Pacha.—Internal disorders which arose in Persia, and the change of commanders on the side of the Turks, now delayed the march of military events. On the death of Sokolli, Mustapha and Sinan Pachas, influential rivals, alike hoped to succeed him. They were both deceived; the Sultan bestowed the dignity of grand vizier upon Ahmed Pacha. But Sinan, by his influence over the new vizier, succeeded in procuring the recall of Mustapha, and obtaining the command of the Georgian expedition. Some months after, the feeble Ahmed was dismissed, and the seals given to Sinan Pacha; which Mustapha took so much to heart that he died some few days after, either of grief or probably suicide—a crime, however, very rare amongst the Ottomans. The campaigns of 1582 and 1583 were without results: Ferhad, the seraskier, having to struggle against the indiscipline and bad will of the troops, frequent mutinies, and continual pillage; the Janissaries making common cause with Georgian brigands to share the booty. The honour of the Ottoman arms was better sustained in Daghestan by Osman Pacha, who there made a valiant defence from the commencement of the war. On his return to Constantinople he was received with extraordinary honours: Amurath granted him a private audience, wishing to hear from his own mouth the recital of his victories, and dismissed him with magnificent presents. A few days after he was named vizier and seraskier of the army destined to invade Aderbaïdjan.

Power of the Harem.—Neither the viziers nor the

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generals were the veritable depositaries of authority; this was entirely concentrated in the harem. The mother, the Sultan's sisters, the Sultana Baffa, and two Christian slaves, who disputed with her for their master's attachment,—these were the true sovereigns of the empire. After them came the chief of the eunuchs, the governor of the harem, the Sultan's preceptor (Kodja), and the mufti, who strove by endless intrigues to make themselves masters of the weak sovereign. These latter influences provoked in him an excess of religious zeal, which manifested itself by persecutions of the Christians. It became a question of transforming into mosques all the churches in Constantinople; but the efforts of the ambassadors, and especially the sacrifice of money made by the Greeks, hindered the execution of the project. However, three churches at Galata were closed, and the protests of the French ambassador were very badly received.

England gained the influence which France had lost. It has been seen that Harebone, the first ambassador sent by Elizabeth, obtained capitulations analogous to those of France, but limited to commerce, and in which there was no question concerning the Christians and the Eastern Churches. He afterwards asked for aid from the Sultan against Spain; and if he experienced a refusal, it was caused by the sacrifices which the Persian war demanded. When Harebone returned to England, he took with him a letter for the Queen, in which the Sultan offered to set at liberty the English who should be taken by the corsairs, on condition that such good office should be reciprocal. Harebone's successor, Edward Burton, demanded that cruisers might be allowed in order to molest the commerce of the Spaniards in the Indian Ocean, and that succour should be given to the Portuguese pretender. His demands were eluded, but without being positively rejected, with a view to encourage the English Government to continue the war against the Spaniards.

The relations of the Porte with the Christian states continued to be pacific. In spite of several flagrant

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infractions of treaties, the protection of the Sultana preserved peace with the Venetians. The Czar of Russia, Fœdor Ivanovitch, sent ambassadors with rich presents. In Poland, Stephen Bathory having just died (1586), the Porte designated to the magnates Prince Sigismund of Sweden, who was elected. The new king had, like his predecessor, to undergo the insults of the Tartars and the haughtiness of the Ottoman ministers.

Revolts of the Janissaries.—At this juncture a furious revolt among the Janissaries broke out at Constantinople. The spirit of that militia became more and more corrupt; during the Persian war it had more than once given proof of insubordination. The defterdar and the beylerbey of Roumelia having proposed to pay them with alloyed coin, they attacked the Seraglio and demanded the heads of those two functionaries. It was necessary to satisfy them, and the Sultan dared only to avenge the insult by dismissing several high dignitaries suspected of having provoked the insurrection for his destruction. In the three following years the Janissaries twice broke into rebellion; the punishment fell upon the viziers, who were deposed. In 1593 it was the spahis who revolted and demanded the head of the defterdar; there was a hesitation in satisfying them, as the victim was an *emir*, that is to say, a member of the family of the Prophet. The Janissaries intervened, and partly by force, partly by conciliation, order was re-established. Some time after, the Janissaries had the audacity to appoint, of their own authority, a woïwode in Moldavia, and their *protégé* was only deposed because he did not pay the tribute.

Death of Amurath III. (1595).—The indifferent success of the campaign of 1594, and above all the revolt of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, in which the Turks scattered through those provinces were massacred, filled Amurath with consternation, and for the first time he sent for the Holy Standard from Damascus, the palladium of the faithful in their contests with the infidels. Death, however, released him from his anxieties. Amur-

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ath expired, 16th January 1595, and was succeeded by Mahommed III., his son by the Sultana Baffa, the Venetian. The death of the Sultan was concealed, as usual, till Mahommed could arrive from his government of Magnesia. He was the last heir of the Turkish throne who enjoyed before his accession an independent government; in future all the Sultan's children were educated exclusively in the seraglio. His accession was marked by the most horrible application of the fratricidal law of Mahommed II.: he ordered the mutes to strangle his nineteen brothers, whose coffins, decked with turbans and herons' plumes, were solemnly placed near the paternal tomb. The insubordination of the Janissaries had to be soothed with a donative of 660,000 ducats, and it was also necessary to pacify a revolt of the discontented spahis. Finally, to satisfy also the ulemas and believers, Mahommed, renewing a ceremony neglected by his father, repaired with great pomp to the mosque, there to offer up public prayers.

In spite of the Holy Standard, the campaign of 1595 was highly unfavourable to the Turks. Sinan, in attempting to gain possession of Wallachia, was driven back with great slaughter by Prince Michael, the Woïwode. The Turkish arms were not more fortunate in Hungary. In September, Count Mansfeld took the important town of Gran. Shortly after, Wissegrad and Waitzen also yielded to the imperialists, and the Turks lost several places on the Danube. So great was the alarm at Constantinople that prayers were offered up in the mosques for the success of the arms of the faithful, a step never resorted to except in cases of the utmost danger; and the unwarlike Mahommed III. felt himself compelled to revive the spirits of his troops by heading them in person. His departure was delayed by the death of his grand vizier, Sinan; but in April 1596 he commenced with great pomp his expedition against Erlau. A week sufficed for its capture, when, in spite of the capitulation, the garrison of 5000 men was cut down by the Janissaries. The Archduke Maximilian, and Sigismund,

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Prince of Transylvania, now hastened with their forces to recover Erlau, and in October they met the Turks on the plain of Keresztes, where a bloody battle was fought that lasted three days. Victory seemed at first to favour the Christians. Emboldened by their success, they ventured on the third day (October 26th) to attack the Turkish camp; but they were repulsed with great loss, and, being seized with a panic, took to a disorderly flight, in which 50,000 men are said to have been killed, and 100 guns and the military chest were captured by the Turks. Maximilian, who was one of the first to fly, escaped to Kaschan, and Sigismund with his forces retreated through Tokay into Transylvania. Mahommed then marched back to Constantinople, which he entered in triumph. This signal defeat created the greatest alarm and anxiety at Vienna, and, indeed, throughout Europe.

The Sultan, however, did not derive that advantage from his success which might have been expected. In the campaign of 1597 nothing decisive was achieved, while that of 1598 was highly adverse to the Turkish arms; Raab, Tata, Vesprim, Tschambock, besides several fortresses, were taken by the imperialists, and the operations of the Turkish seraskier, Saturdschi, were so unfortunate as to cost him his dismissal and his life. Both sides were now exhausted and eager to conclude a peace if satisfactory terms could be obtained. In 1599 the grand vizier, Ibrahim Pacha, who commanded the Turkish forces in Hungary, made proposals to the imperial general, Nicholas Palfy; but nothing was effected: the demands on both sides were too high, and the war was continued six years longer. We shall not, however, enter into the details of a struggle which was feebly carried on with varying success, and which gave birth to no events of decisive importance. Even the death of Mahommed III. (22d December 1603) had little effect on the war, except that it served still further to exhaust the resources of the Porte by the payment of the accustomed donative to the Janissaries. Mahommed was quietly

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succeeded by his son, Achmet I., then hardly fifteen years of age.

The renewal of the war between the Sultan and the Shah of Persia in 1603 tended still further to dispose the Porte to put an end to the struggle in Hungary; and the negotiations were facilitated by a revolution in Transylvania.

Decadence of the Empire.—The Turks, although not naturally fond of the sea, nor a commercial people—for what little trade they had was mostly in the hands of Europeans or Jews—nevertheless surpassed, during the period of their prosperity, the other nations of Europe in their maritime forces. Early in the sixteenth century, under Selim I., the Turkish fleet numbered 400 sail of all descriptions, carrying 30,000 men. After the time of Selim, although still very formidable, it somewhat declined; and the battle of Lepanto inflicted on it a blow from which it never thoroughly recovered. The rapidity, indeed, with which after that tremendous defeat the Turkish vessels that had been destroyed were replaced with new ones, excited the astonishment of the Bishop of Acqs, the French ambassador to the Porte; but fresh crews could not so easily be supplied, and still less experienced officers. Through mismanagement and neglect the Turkish navy began rapidly to decline towards the end of the sixteenth century; and Sir Thomas Roe, who was at Constantinople in 1662, describes the Turkish galleys as mostly so rotten and decayed that not fifty were fit to put to sea, and those very ill-manned and equipped. The corsair fleets of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, appear, however, not to have shared this decay. It was remarked early in the seventeenth century that the beys of those places possessed a fleet of forty large square-rigged vessels, with which they harassed the commerce of the Mediterranean; and they are related on one occasion to have blockaded Malaga, while another division of their ships cruised between the Tagus and the Guadalquivir.

The chief naval stations of the Turks, besides Constan-

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tinople and Gallipoli, were Nicomedia, Negropont, and Avlona in Albania. The Greeks formed the best sailors in the Turkish fleet; galley-slaves for the oars were supplied by the Christian prisoners, and there was also a maritime conscription throughout the Ottoman Empire. Before the battle of Lepanto, the Turkish galleys carried only from three to seven guns, one or two of which were of heavy calibre. After that disastrous defeat the number of guns was doubled, yet were still unequal to those of the Venetian ships. The Turks understood little of manœuvring in line; their tactics were to reserve their fire till they came to close quarters, and then to board the enemy. The capudan-pacha, or chief officer of the fleet, not only commanded at sea, but had also the uncontrolled direction of the arsenal. In favour of Chair-eddin Barbarossa, this office was elevated to that of beylerbey of the sea and the dignity of a pacha of two tails; for the sea, like the land, was divided into sandjaks, fourteen in number. After the taking of Chios by Selim II. in 1566, the capudan-pacha was made a vizier and pacha of three tails.

Not only the Ottoman navy, but also the empire in general, was beginning towards the close of the sixteenth century to feel the approach of decay. The wars of Selim II. had so exhausted the treasure, that he caused what remained of it to be removed to his private treasury. It had been previously kept in the ancient Byzantine castle, called the "Seven Towers." In the palmy days of the Ottoman Empire each of these seven towers had had its appropriate use: one contained the gold, another the silver money; a third the gold and silver plate and jewels; valuable remains of antiquity were deposited in the fourth; in the fifth were preserved ancient coins and other objects, chiefly collected by Selim I. during his expeditions into Persia and Egypt; the sixth was a sort of arsenal; and the seventh was appropriated to the archives. After the time of Selim II., the "Seven Towers" were used as a prison for distinguished persons and as an arsenal. Amurath III., whose avarice was

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prodigious, retained and improved upon the custom of his predecessor. He caused, it is said, a vault to be built, with treble locks, in which his treasure was deposited, and over which he slept every night; it was opened only four times a year to receive fresh heaps of wealth, which have been estimated at twelve million ducats annually; but two millions are perhaps nearer the truth.

More than a century of Turkish despotism had at length done its work. Ragazzoni describes the Christians in the Ottoman Empire in 1571 as so depressed and degraded that they dared hardly look a Turk in the face; the only care of their listless existence was to raise enough for their maintenance, and to pay their *karatsch*, or poll-tax—all beyond would be seized by the Turks. Constantinople, however, still afforded a secure place of residence, whither the Greeks flocked in great numbers; so that towards the end of the sixteenth century it was reckoned that there were 100,000 of them in that capital. Many of these acquired great wealth, either by trade or by farming certain branches of the Grand Seignior's revenue. Among them, one Michael Kantakuzenus was conspicuous both for his enormous wealth and his intrigues, which procured him the name of the "Devil's Son" (*Seitan Oglie*), although it was thought that he was not a true Greek, but an Englishman by birth, belonging to the family of an English ambassador. The fate of whole provinces lay in his hands; he could fit out twenty or thirty galleys at his own expense, and the splendour of his palace at Anchioli rivalled the seraglio of the Grand Seignior. Kantakuzenus had gained his influence through the favour and friendship of Mahommed Sokolli; but even that powerful vizier could not at last save him from the wrath of Amurath III.; and he was hanged before the gate of his own palace (March 1578). The Jews also occupied an important position in the Ottoman Empire. From the earliest period the physicians of the Sultan were of the Hebrew race; they monopolised most branches of commerce, they were the chief musical per-

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formers, and acted obscene comedies for the entertainment of the Grand Seignior.

We return to Achmet, whose reign marks the first steps towards the decadence of the Ottoman Empire.

Achmet, having ascended the throne in his fifteenth year, only attained manhood at the close of his reign. He then showed himself to be well-disposed, active, full of noble designs, anxious to redress abuses, and that justice should reign; but the absolute power and the pleasures of the harem rendered null those good inclinations. Not knowing how to make choice of men, changing continually his viziers, hot-headed, capricious, eccentric, he allowed the inmates of the seraglio to arrogate to themselves all authority, and most of all the kizlar-aga, chief of the black eunuchs, who had a court as pompous as that of his master. "One knows not, in truth," says an Italian contemporary, "who is the sovereign." A power was thus formed in the harem whose interests were neither those of the empire nor those of the Sultan, but solely those of the women and eunuchs, that is to say, of slaves placed by religion and nature out of the region of politics and government: the viziers were compelled to submit thereto or renounce their dignities. The harem had yet another influence: the daughters and sisters of the Sultans, who at this epoch began to espouse the favourites and grandees of the empire, diffused throughout the nation the luxurious habits of the seraglio. In order to satisfy factitious wants, the dignitaries sold justice, devastated the countries confided to their administration, and did not shrink from any exaction. Nacouh Pacha dared to propose to the Sultan to purchase of him the dignity of grand vizier, and when later he had obtained it, he pointed out to his master, in the dockyards of Constantinople, some old dismasted hulks as new naval constructions, and thus embezzled enormous sums. The army did not escape this general demoralisation: the Janissaries, devoting themselves with ardour to industry and commerce, lost their warlike renown, and had no longer swift foot and sharp eye except to see when the

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cavalry began to waver and then to fly instantly at full speed. The spahis saw the *timars* which had become vacant distributed amongst favourites; so that a given *sandjak*, which hitherto furnished a hundred spahis, could scarcely bring fifteen, and frequently there was not one-tenth inscribed upon the registers.

CHAPTER IX.

REIGNS OF MUSTAPHA I. AND OSMAN II.

THE unimportant reign of Sultan Achmet I., with whom Austria had concluded the peace of Sitvatorok, was closed by his death (22d November 1617). Nothing can more strongly testify the sunken state of the Turkish power, than that it was possible to raise from a dungeon to the throne Achmet's imbecile brother, Mustapha I. It was one of the pastimes of this prince to throw gold to the fishes of the Bosphorus; but the kizlar-aga persuaded the Divan that the precious metal would be better employed in furnishing the donatives customary on a new reign. After three months' enjoyment of the sceptre, Mustapha was led back to his prison, and, on the 26th of February 1618, Osman II., a boy of fourteen, the eldest of the seven sons of Achmet, was saluted Padischah by the venal troops. Osman, however, displayed a spirit and ambition beyond his years. Strong and active of body, and inured to all soldier-like exercises, Osman was a bold rider and an unfailing marksman with the bow; but, with all his energy, he lacked the perseverance without which nothing great can be accomplished, while his meanness alienated from him the hearts of the rapacious Janissaries.

Osman longed to flesh his maiden arms in a war with Poland, between which country and the Porte bickerings

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had for several years prevailed; and he esteemed its conquest so easy, that he divided the spoil beforehand. Desolating incursions had been made by the Tartars into Poland, by the Cossacks into the Turkish dominions, which in 1620 ended in open war. Poland was then ruled by the Swedish prince, Sigismund III., as before mentioned. Caspar Gratiani, Woïwode of Moldavia, had courted the favour of Sigismund by sending to him the intercepted letters addressed by Bethlem Gabor to the Porte, complaining of the incursions of the Polish Cossacks and freebooters. Gratiani was deposed on the discovery of his proceedings; but he would not yield without a struggle: he called upon the Poles for assistance, who sent him an army of 50,000 men. Against these, posted in a fortified camp near Jassy in Moldavia, Iskander Pacha, governor of Silistria, led a force of double their number, composed of Osmanli and Tartars; and on the 20th September 1620, a great battle was fought, in which 10,000 Poles were slain. The remainder, after a useless attempt to defend their entrenched camp, retreated towards the Dniester, in the passage of which river most of them perished. Gratiani himself had fallen in the retreat.

Osman's Unsuccessful Expedition against Poland.—It was this success that incited Osman to attempt the conquest of Poland against the advice of his ministers, and even the wishes of his army; and in the spring of 1621, clothed in a suit of mail which had belonged to Solyman *the Magnificent*, he placed himself at the head of 100,000 men. But the march proved difficult and destructive; the mercenary troops were alienated by Osman's reluctance to pay the customary gratuity; and it was the end of August before the Turks arrived on the Dniester. Here Sigismund had encamped 40,000 Poles and Cossacks, and 8000 Germans sent to him by the Emperor; while another army of reserve of 60,000 men, under the Crown Prince, lay at Kaminieck. A first assault on the Polish camp was attended with some success; but the following ones were repulsed, although in

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the sixth and last the Sultan in person led one of the storming columns. A Polish winter set in early; men and horses perished by thousands; a mutiny broke out; and Osman, after opening negotiations for a peace, began his retreat. On the 28th of December 1621, he entered Constantinople in triumph; for though he had lost 80,000 men, he pretended to claim a victory. But his ill success, his unpopularity with the army, the dearness of provisions, and the strictness of his police, which he superintended in person, by visiting the wine-houses and other places of resort, soon produced symptoms of revolt among the Janissaries. As these degenerate troops were averse to the warlike schemes meditated by Osman, he resolved to destroy them. The scheme he formed was bold and well-designed, and, if successful, might have revived the sinking fortunes of the Turkish Empire. Under pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca, Osman was to raise a large army at Damascus, march with it to Constantinople, and annihilate the refractory Janissaries; but his preparations, and some incautious words, prematurely betrayed his intentions.

Death of Osman.—On the 18th of May 1622, on the report that the Sultan's tent was about to be transported to Scutari, the Janissaries, associating themselves to the spahis, rose in rebellion, repulsed with insults their aga and other officers, who had been sent to hear their complaints; and demanded from the mufti a categorical answer to the inquiry, "Whether it was permitted to put to death those who misled the Padischah, and devoured the substance of the Moslems?" The mufti having answered in the affirmative, the mutineers hastened to the palaces of the grand vizier and of the chodsha, who were thought to be the authors of the plan for their destruction; these ministers saved themselves by flight, but their palaces were plundered and destroyed. On the following day the insurrection assumed a still more formidable aspect. The Sultan having refused to give up the six authors of his pilgrimage, though he consented to renounce the pilgrimage itself, an attack was

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made on the Seraglio; and, in the midst of the confusion, a cry of Mustapha Khan for the Sultan, echoed by thousands of voices, became the watchword of the revolution. The unhappy Mustapha, wasted to a shadow by want of air and food, and expecting death rather than a crown, was dragged from his obscure dungeon, carried to the throne-room, and saluted Padischah. Osman, contemplating flight when it was too late, abandoned his grand vizier and kizlar-aga to the fury of the soldiers, by whom they were horribly murdered; the Janissaries, who would listen to no terms, though large offers were made, occupied the Seraglio, and directed all the actions of the Sultana Validé, the mother of the idiot Mustapha; and Constantinople was abandoned to plunder and devastation. Osman, who had fled to the palace of the aga of the Janissaries, was dragged from his hiding-place, and was conducted with abuse and derision, first to the barracks of the mutineers, and then to the Seven Towers. On the way thither his faithful adherent, Hussein Pacha, was murdered at his feet. Arrived there, the youthful Sultan made a piteous appeal to the rebels, but vainly endeavoured to soften them. "Forgive me," said he to them, sobbing, "if I have offended you unwittingly. Yesterday, I was a sovereign; to-day, I am stripped bare. Let me serve you as an example: you likewise will experience the caprice of fate. My agas of spahis, and you, the seniors of the Janissaries, my fathers, through the imprudence of a young man, I have listened to bad advice; but wherefore humiliate me thus? Will you have nothing more to do with me?" "We will have neither your domination nor your blood," replied the rebels, laying hands upon him. The unfortunate Osman defended himself for some time, till at length one of his executioners passed the bow-string round his neck, and so despatched him. They sent one of his ears to the Sultana Validé, by whose orders to her vizier, Daud Pacha, he had been put to death. Thus perished the first Ottoman emperor whom his subjects had assassinated.

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The reign of Osman presents no other remarkable event than the futile war against Poland.

Restoration of Mustapha I.—Amurath IV.—Once more set upon the throne, Mustapha was during fifteen months the plaything of the soldiery. The murderers of Osman soon repented of their crime; they were, however, the absolute masters of the state, and disposed, according to their caprice, of the most important posts. But those among them who had been opposed to the murder of the Sultan revolted, and were only appeased by making them frequent distributions of money; the spahis, in their turn, compelled concessions of the public farms, and imposed fresh taxes on the *timars*. At length the provinces of Asia were excited to revolt by the Pacha of Erzeroum, and an attempt at revolt by the ulemas of Constantinople increased the universal anarchy. The Janissaries themselves saw the abyss into which the empire was descending, and nominated a grand vizier, who proposed to depose the Sultan, and appoint as his successor Amurath, eldest son of Achmet. This met with their approval, and, informed of the exhaustion of the treasure, they renounced the accession donative. Amurath was proclaimed (1623).

Anarchy in Turkey.—The new Sultan was born in 1612. His youth seemed to secure impunity to the usurpations and insolence of the soldiery. In fact, during the first ten years of his reign, the Janissaries and the spahis continued to harass and oppress the empire. During that time Persia extended its conquests: Shah Abbas seized upon Bagdad (1623), and the Osmanli vainly tried to retake that city. The Pacha of Erzeroum persisted in his rebellion until 1628, when he received the government of Bosnia. In the Crimea the Tartars likewise rose; the Ottomans were defeated and taken in such numbers that a Turkish prisoner sold for a glass of *boza* (a drink made from fermented barley). All these reverses had for their cause the spirit of faction and insubordination which reigned in the army. At length Amurath grew weary of the yoke. When he saw the Janissaries and the spahis break in the gates of the

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Seraglio, and put to death under his own eyes his most faithful servants, he comprehended that, to escape the fate of his brother Osman, he had need to terrify the rebels by his energy and audacity. "'Tis well," said he; "if God permits, you shall suffer the effects of a fearful vengeance—oppressors who neither fear God nor humble yourselves before His Prophet!" He struck terror amongst them by the murder of their chief, Redgeb Pacha: the corpse of the traitor was flung out in front of the gate of the Seraglio (1632).

From that moment the actual reign of Amurath IV. began. The Janissaries and the spahis took the oath of fidelity. The Sultan, the grand vizier, and the mufti, declared the reversion of the spahis to the administrative posts suppressed, and proclaimed the promise made by both corps to maintain public order. "My padischah," said one of the judges of Asia to the Sultan, "the only remedy against abuses is the sabre." Amurath remembered that advice.

The end of that military anarchy brought back victory to the banners of the Osmanli. Shah Abbas having died (1629), Amurath resolved to invade Persia, and placed himself at the head of the army. He took Erivan, Tebriz, and besieged Bagdad (1638). Enamoured of war, he put on the uniform of a Janissary and worked in the trenches like a common soldier. Such conduct inflamed the ardour of his troops, and the garrison, though numerous, was compelled to capitulate; but in the intoxication of victory it was massacred. Persia sued for peace, ceded Bagdad, and received in exchange the province of Erivan. That war brought the Sultan much glory but small profit.

Character of Amurath IV.—Amurath was then in all the vigour of manhood, and seemed ready to renew the exploits of Solyman. An excellent horseman, he could spring easily from one horse to another, hurl the javelin with unerring aim, and bend a bow with such strength that the arrow sped further than the ball from a fowling-piece—he thus pierced, it is said, sheets of iron four inches

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thick. But the lust of murder was developed in his soul. His mode of hunting indicated that that passion existed in him to the highest degree. He took no pleasure in pursuing the game, but had it run down by several hundred beaters, and delighted only in slaughtering it. In 1637 the number of men he had caused to be executed in the space of five years was estimated at 25,000, and many had perished by his own hand. The expression of his countenance was horrible: his pale brown eye gleamed threateningly; his face was half hidden by his chestnut hair and thick beard; and he was never more dangerous than when he knitted his dark eyebrows. It was then that his dexterity in launching the javelin and arrow became most deadly. His attendants served him tremblingly, and his mutes could not be distinguished from the other slaves of the Seraglio, for every one spoke by signs. Murder had become no longer a means but a pleasure to this monster.

The extreme severity of Amurath tamed the rebellious militia; he interdicted their assemblages, in which, intoxicated with the fumes of tobacco and coffee, they passed whole days without other occupation than that of weaving plots. He re-established order in the *timars*, changed the uniform of the spahis, and no longer permitted them to indulge their noisy turbulence in the streets. He separated the Janissaries unfit for service from those who were efficient, and forced the latter to march against the enemy in spite of their exemptions. He failed, however, to restore the ancient valour to his troops. The spahis, to whom their pay was not sufficient, often forsook their pay and service. The Janissaries seemed only fit to inspire terror among the western peoples by their aspect and shouts; they no longer exhibited either a knowledge of tactics or courage. Their aga had set out from Constantinople with the entire corps of Janissaries; he brought back only 3000 from Aleppo —all the rest had deserted by the way. Military functions were shunned with as much ardour as they were sought for formerly. The Ottoman armies then fell back

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into their primitive condition, and the timariots appeared again as when the nucleus was first formed. Nevertheless, the best even of these timariot troops, that is to say, those who, cantoned on the frontiers of Hungary, were kept efficient by continual fighting, were still composed of bad soldiers. The Christians rejoiced that God, for the happiness of the faithful, had only endowed the Turks with a slender capacity. They compared the bearing of their order of battle to that of a bull who is menacing and dangerous in appearance, but who can be overcome by intelligence and address.

However powerful, however absolute he might appear, Amurath was not the less dominated by the influence of the Seraglio. He was the sport of his favourites and his mother, whom he relegated several times and uselessly to the old palace. Moreover, law and right had little power over him in presence of gold, for which he evinced an insatiable thirst. He wanted neither magnificent stuffs nor precious objects of art; he only attached importance to the number of purses. Then every one sought to appear poor. The possession of gold and silver ornaments, and wearing of costly vestments, were avoided. Money was hidden, in the dread of at once exciting the two passions of the Grand Seignior—gold and blood. Thus did Amurath govern his empire. He filled his coffers, no doubt; he placed his life in safety, and died calmly in his bed (1640); but the terror which had procured him that safety paralysed at the same time the strength of the empire; the sword which procured him riches deprived him of men who had been the terror of Christendom.[1]

Ibrahim I. (1639)—War with Venice.—Ibrahim I. had succeeded his brother Amurath IV. He made no expeditions into Asia, and, after the example of his brother, humoured the House of Austria; he enjoined even Rakoczy, Prince of Transylvania, to discontinue war against the Emperor and to break with Sweden. He showed himself more warlike towards the Cossacks,

[1] Venetian Narrative of 1637, cited by Ranke, pp. 101-104.

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who had seized upon Azof during the preceding reign, and he recaptured that place from them, which was already coveted by the Muscovites. All the efforts of the Ottoman power were directed against the republic of Venice.

In 1644 some Maltese galleys captured a Turkish vessel bound for Mecca, and in which were one of the women and a son of the Sultan. They were taken to Candia, where the Venetian commander had the imprudence to receive them. On learning this, Ibrahim gave way to such furious anger that at first he resolved to exterminate all the Christians in his states; then, upon the representations of the mufti, the Europeans only; next, upon the representations of his ministers, the Catholic priests. The order for these massacres was even given, and its revocation was a matter of such difficulty, that the Franks dwelling in Constantinople believed themselves, during fifteen days, doomed to certain death. The Sultan then sent for the Christian ambassadors, and declared that he held them responsible for the outrage committed, and that their masters ought themselves to avenge him upon the Knights of Malta and the Venetians; then he imprisoned them in their houses, ordered the offices of the Frank merchants to be closed, and laid an embargo upon all their ships. The ambassadors of England, Venice, and Holland represented to the Sultan that not one of their compatriots belonged to the Order of Malta, which was composed almost entirely of Frenchmen; and the wrath of Ibrahim was about to expend itself against France, when the grand vizier became desirous of profiting by the occurrence to attempt the conquest of Candia, the last Greek possession of the Venetians. To this end he made great preparations, and, without declaring war, a fleet of 348 sail landed 50,000 men in that island, the acquisition of which was destined to cost the Ottomans twenty-five years' fighting.

Chania was taken almost without a blow being struck (1645). The Venetian fleet having arrived too late to defend that place, avenged itself by devastating the coasts

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of the Morea, the isle of Tenedos, and the plain of Troy (1646). But several towns of Crete capitulated, among others the important place of Retimo. The Turks failed before Candia, the capital (1647). At the same time they attacked Dalmatia, but had no success there.

Venice had asked aid from all the Christian powers. The Catholic world was stirred up by the insults of the Turks; and the religious zeal which then animated France found vent in cries for war against the infidels. Mazarin beheld with complacency the perils of the Venetians, with whom the French were in rivalry for the commerce of the Levant; but he was unwilling that the Turks, whose friendship for France had so strangely cooled, should succeed in dominating the Mediterranean by the possession of Candia. Pursuing his wily policy, he resolved to maintain openly the Ottoman alliance, to allow French commerce to profit by the embarrassments of the Venetians, and at the same time to hinder the success of the Turks by underhand hostility which should make them repent of their bad conduct towards France, and should satisfy Catholic opinion. He sent to Constantinople an ambassador extraordinary, M. de Varennes, to offer the Divan the mediation of France; the mediation was haughtily rejected. He then offered to the Venetians the co-operation of the French navy; but he limited that co-operation to three fire-ships, yet on such conditions that the senate refused them. Afterwards he sent to Venice a subsidy of 10,000 crowns, but secretly and in his own name. The following year he further gave nine ships, but without crews, and which were to fight under the Venetian flag, conjointly with nine other vessels furnished by Spain. Finally, he allowed the senate to recruit soldiers in France; and that permission was so largely used, that, during twenty-five years' struggle, and although France was herself engaged in the Thirty Years' War, more than 50,000 Frenchmen, urged either by religious zeal or by love of adventure, accepted the pay of Venice, and perished under her flag. That number is confirmed by the registers of the Republic.

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Murder of Ibrahim (1648).—The glory of subduing Candia was not reserved for Ibrahim's reign; the vices of that prince, rather than the courage of the Christians, retarded the capture of the city. Worn out by excessive debauchery, he was incapable of directing the war and of pushing it vigorously. The favourite sultanas devoured the revenues of the state and disposed at will of every appointment. The army grew weary of this shameful tyranny, and the spirit of revolt, suppressed under the preceding reign, re-awoke all the more terrible that the imperial power had been so debased. The Janissaries deposed Ibrahim, and the principal dignitaries of the empire caused him to be strangled (1648). His son Mahommed, scarcely seven years old, succeeded him.

CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF MAHOMMED IV. UNTIL 1669.

Insolence of the Janissaries.—The reign of Mahommed IV., which lasted forty years, may be divided into three periods: the first extending from the death of Ibrahim to the nomination of the grand vizier, Kupruli Mahommed (1648-56); the second, during the administration of the two first Kupruli, from 1656 to the treaty of peace concluded with Poland (1676); the third, from the death of Ahmed Kupruli, to the deposition of the Sultan (1676-87). The first period is filled with seditions and reverses; in the second, Ahmed Kupruli re-established the affairs of the empire; then the troubles recommenced, and the Ottoman power, shaken within and without, tottered in its decline.

After the murder of Ibrahim, the Porte underwent anew the domination of the soldiery. The Janissaries, at first satisfied with their work, repressed an insurrec-

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tion of itchoglans and spahis; but they made the young Sultan pay dearly for their insolent guardianship. More than once, during the war against Venice, they compromised the honour of the crescent by their revolts, in presence even of the enemy. In 1649 they refused to continue the siege of Candia, and the Seraskier Hussein was constrained to cease the operations. In 1651 a new sedition cost the life of the grandfather of Mahommed IV. Five years after, the Janissaries and spahis, irritated at the delay in the payment of their arrears, were seen to re-assemble upon the hippodrome, the ordinary theatre of their insurrections, and to call with loud outcries for the death of the members of the Divan. The Sultan obeyed: the *lords of the hippodrome* (at-meidani-aghalari) handed him a list of proscription; he delivered into the hands of the executioner his dearest servants, and the whole administration was overthrown (1656). Encouraged by the example of the army, the incorporation of handicraftmen rose also and caused the grand vizier to be deposed. Finally, revolts broke out in the Asiatic provinces: Ahmed Pacha, governor of Anatolia, was overcome, taken, and slain by the rebels (1649).

Fortunately for the Turks, Germany, exhausted by the Thirty Years' War, which the treaties of Westphalia had just brought to a close (1648), did not think about reconquering Hungary; France was troubled with the Fronde war (1649-52), and had not yet signed peace with Spain; the Sultan therefore had only to combat Venice. But, so long as anarchy prevailed within, he obtained no advantage without the realm, in spite of the isolation in which the Christian powers left the defenders of Candia. The Admiral Moncenigo even obtained in the very Straits of the Dardanelles, a complete victory over the Turkish fleet, seized upon Tenedos, Samothracia, and Lemnos; and, by a strict blockade of the Hellespont, succeeded almost in famishing Constantinople (1656).

Kupruli Mahommed.—Such was the situation of the empire when Kupruli Mahommed was raised to the post of grand vizier. His first care, on his entrance into

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power, was to restore order and discipline. A military mutiny having broken out, he suppressed it by capital punishments: 4000 bodies were, it is said, flung into the sea. He hanged, at the same time, the Greek patriarch accused of treason.

The war against the Venetians was vigorously resumed. Moncenigo lost his life in an indecisive battle fought near the Dardanelles (1657); the isles of Tenedos and Lemnos were reconquered; but these successes were in part compensated by a victory which the squadron of the Republic obtained near Milo (1661).

Diplomatic Rupture with France.—At the commencement of the reign of Mahommed IV., says the traveller Chardin, the state was governed by the women and eunuchs, who filled up the highest posts at their pleasure. Nearly every month a fresh grand vizier was appointed, who, after a few days' administration, was deprived not only of office but of life. The French ambassador, De la Haye, seeing these frequent changes, thought that, during the minority of the Sultan, matters would not be otherwise, and that thus the customary visit and presents made to each new grand vizier were thrown away. When Kupruli received the seals, the ambassador thought that the fortune of the former would not be more favourable than that of his predecessors; but he judged erroneously, and a serious rupture resulted from his error.

The vizier was not long in finding an occasion for giving vent to his resentment. From the commencement of the war against Candia, France had secretly assisted the Venetians, and De la Haye was expected to keep up a secret correspondence with the Venetians, and make them acquainted with the designs of the Turks. He had written to them advising that they should not yield to the demands of the Divan, giving them to understand that they ought to hope everything from the protection of Louis XIV., and that his master would not be the mediator of a peace disadvantageous to the Christians. Kupruli, having been apprised of this correspondence by a renegade who delivered up to him the despatches to

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the ambassador, written in cipher (1659), became greatly infuriated, being naturally passionate and sanguinary; and ordered De la Haye to repair to Adrianople, where the court then was. The ambassador, being ill, sent his son in his place. The vizier received him haughtily, and ordered him to decipher the letters. The latter replied that "the secrets of the King, his master, must be kept." Kupruli flew into such a rage, that he shouted to his *chiaoux:* "Strike that dog!" And the latter, rushing upon young De la Haye, maltreated him; and afterwards threw him into a dungeon in the great tower of Adrianople. "That cannot be suffered," said the vizier, "from the ambassador's envoy, although he be his son, which would not be endured from the ambassador himself." The secretaries and the interpreters of the embassy were menaced with torments and even death.

De la Haye hastened to Adrianople. The vizier required of him in vain to decipher the letters, characterised his conduct as treason, and quitted the city to carry on the war in Transylvania, ordering a strict watch to be kept over the ambassador, and leaving his son in prison. It was only after his return from the war that he permitted him to return to Constantinople.

At the news of this event, Mazarin, anxious to prevent a rupture, despatched a gentleman, named Blondel, with a letter from the King, which demanded amends and the dismissal of the vizier. Kupruli received that envoy superciliously, complained of France, which gave succour to the enemies of the Porte, and threatened to send away De la Haye ignominiously. Blondel, unable to obtain an audience of the Sultan, returned with his letters. On his arrival, Mazarin recalled De la Haye (1661), and entrusted the care of the affairs of France at Constantinople to a merchant named Roboly, who remained in charge till 1665.

The rupture seemed complete; England, Holland, Austria, urged France to make war, and their ambassadors at Constantinople exaggerated designedly the insults the French had received. But Mazarin, who had

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recently, by the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659), marked out for France the policy which he thought would give him the domination of the West, refused to involve himself in an impolitic struggle with Turkey. He refrained, therefore, from an open rupture with the Ottomans, who were embarrassed with their twofold war in Candia and Hungary, but sent 4000 Frenchmen to Candia, and protected the recruiting of numerous volunteers for the Venetian army; finally, he prepared to give aid to the Emperor against the Ottomans.

Mazarin and Kupruli both died the same year (1661), after having both exercised a veritable tutelage over the sovereigns of whom they were the ministers, and raised up again the power of the states they governed. Mazarin had to conquer the Fronde; Kupruli repressed the Janissaries, stifled an insurrection in Asia Minor, and pacified Upper Egypt. The first, finishing the work of Richelieu, abased both branches of the House of Austria, and aggrandised France on the east and south; the second prepared the fall of Candia, refastened the links of vassalage which bound Transylvania and the Danubian principalities to the Ottoman Empire, and commenced against Austria a war calculated to place Vienna in peril. But if he may be compared with Mazarin, Kupruli still more closely resembled Richelieu by his energy and cruelty. He caused the death, it is said, of more than 30,000 persons. On his deathbed, before expiring, he advised the Sultan to withdraw himself from the control of the women, not to shut himself up in the Seraglio, not to allow the troops to become enervated by idleness, and never to choose a too rich minister. Mahommed requested of him, as a last service, to point out the person whom he considered the most fitting to replace him. "I know none," replied the grand vizier, "more capable than my son Ahmed." Ahmed Kupruli inherited the functions and authority of his father (1661).

War in Hungary.—The grand vizier bequeathed to his son the termination of two wars. Venice and Austria in vain opened negotiations. Ahmed Kupruli crossed the

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Danube near Gran, and laid siege to Neuhausel. The capture of that fortress, which was the bulwark of Hungary, entailed the submission of the adjacent strongholds. At this time, the Tartar hordes ravaged Hungary, Moravia, and Silesia, and carried nearly 80,000 Christians into slavery.

Whilst the French and the auxiliaries of the Rhine League marched towards Hungary, Hohenlohe, the imperial general, and Zriny, Ban of the Croats, seized upon Presnitz, Babocsa, and Baris, and burned the city of Fünfkirchen with more than 500 villages. The Count de Strozzi obtained also some successes, but he perished in a skirmish upon the banks of the Muhr. The celebrated Montecuculli succeeded him in the command, and arrested the menacing tide of Mussulman invasion.

Battle of St Gothard.—In 1664 Montecuculli was enabled to take the field with more prospect of success; and though the first operations of the campaign were in favour of the Turks, he at length arrested their progress by the memorable battle near St Gothard (1st August), a Cistercian convent on the borders of Hungary and Styria. Montecuculli having given the word "Death or victory," the Christians, contrary to their usual practice, charged without waiting to be attacked; the Turks were routed and thrown into a disorderly flight, in which more than 10,000 of them were slain or drowned in the Raab. But instead of pursuing this advantage, which seemed to open the road to the most extensive conquests, the imperial cabinet surprised all Europe by seizing the occasion to make peace with the Porte. On 10th August, only a few days after the battle of St Gothard, a treaty was concluded at Vasvar for a twenty years' truce. The Emperor abandoned to the Turks all their conquests; he withdrew his support from the party of Ragotski and Kemeni, thus abandoning Transylvania to Apafy, the nominee of the Porte; and he made the Sultan *a present*—in other words, paid him a tribute—of 200,000 florins.

The war which they had been waging so many years

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with Venice was on the side of the Turks a motive for concluding the truce of Vasvar, but its details are uninteresting. The siege of Candia is, however, one of the most remarkable in history, having lasted from May 1667 till September 1669. After an attempt to relieve it with a large French force under the Duke de Navailles had failed, the garrison was compelled to capitulate, 6th September, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. A peace was now concluded between Venice and the Porte, and terminated a war in which the Venetians are said to have lost 30,000 men, and the Turks upwards of 118,000.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE CAPTURE OF CANDIA TO THE PEACE OF CARLOWITZ (1669-1699).

Condition of the Ottoman Empire after the Capture of Candia.—The Ottoman Empire, under the administration of Ahmed Kupruli, had regained the summit of its power. "If you consider," says an English historian of the time, "its origin, its progress, and its uninterrupted success, nothing is more admirable or more astonishing; if you contemplate its grandeur and its splendour, nothing more magnificent or more glorious; if you consider its power and its strength, nothing more terrible or more dangerous. Intoxicated with the draught of constant happiness, the Ottoman looks only with contempt on the other nations of the earth."[1] In reality, the Ottoman Empire, which comprehended at that epoch forty governments and four tributary countries, then encircled in Europe all Greece, Illyria, Mœsia, Macedonia, Pannonia,

[1] Knolle, Preface to the "History of the Turks."

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Thrace, and Dacia; the kingdoms of Pyrrhus and Perseus; the states of the Treballi and the Bulgarians; in Africa, the kingdom of the Ptolemies, with the territory of Carthage and Numidia; in Asia, the kingdoms of Mithridates, Antiochus, Attalus, Prusias, Herod, and Tigranes; those of the obscure sovereigns of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Comagena; the territories of the Iberians and the Scythians; and a portion of the empire of the Parthians. Without reckoning the Greek republics and the Tyrian colony, there were twenty kingdoms included in those forty governments, from the Syrtes to the Caucasus, and to the countries watered by the Hydaspes.

The voluntary submission of the Cossacks helped still further to increase for a time the limits already so vast of the Ottoman domination. The Cossacks inhabited the Ukraine, situated between Little Tartary, Poland, and Moscow. That country extended for about a hundred leagues from north to south, and nearly as far from east to west. It is divided into two almost equal portions by the Borysthenes, which traverses it from the north-west to the south-east. The Cossacks have always aspired to be free; but, being surrounded by Muscovy, the states of the Grand Seignior, and Poland, it was necessary for them to seek a protector, and consequently, a master in one of those three states.[1] So long as the Tartars and the Turks menaced the liberty of Europe, the military institution of the Cossacks was useful and politic; they were upon the Borysthenes what the Knights of St John of Jerusalem had been in the Isle of Rhodes; but when the Ottoman Porte had taken rank among the European powers, and regular alliances were made with it, it became necessary to put a stop to the hostilities of the Cossacks; their incursions were nothing more than brigandage. The kings of Poland, therefore, were urged to repress them. The troubles of Russia still occupied for some time their vagabond avidity, but when it became necessary to be at peace with their neighbours, their turbulent race finding the domination of

[1] Voltaire, "History of Charles XII.," i. 4.

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Poland irksome and galling, they endeavoured to secure the protection of the Turks.

The Ottomans were still occupied with the siege of Candia when Doroszensko, hetman of the Cossacks, went to offer Mahommed IV. the suzerainty of the Ukraine. The Sultan gave him the investiture with the title of Sandjak-bey. On hearing this, the neighbouring peoples became uneasy, fearing to be exposed by that alliance to all the inconveniences likely to be its natural result. The Cossacks inhabited a marshy country, intersected throughout by defiles. The Poles and Muscovites having until then lived on good terms with them, and derived great service therefrom, not only on account of their situation, but more especially because, being fond of brigandage, they overran the Ottoman frontiers, their new alliance would make all these advantages revert to the Turks. The King of Poland was only too conscious of this. It was of the last importance to retain these old friends or subjects, and to hinder them from throwing themselves into the arms of the Osmanli. Thus, before the Turks had had time to ensure the obedience of the Cossacks, a Polish army was sent into their country, and as they had still many partisans there, they penetrated as far as they chose, and lived in it at their discretion. Mahommed IV. might have regarded this proceeding as an infraction of treaties, and made it a pretext for declaring instant war against the King of Poland; but he thought it more reasonable to essay in the first instance the power of remonstrance. He sent a letter to the king, therefore, which concluded in these summary terms: "If you refuse to submit yourself to our mandate, and you are disposed to sustain your injustice by arms, our law denounces by our mouth death to your person, desolation to your kingdom, the slavery of your people; and all the universe will impute these calamities solely to your wickedness and obstinacy."[1]

War with Poland.—The King of Poland having refused to obey this summons, war was declared, and the

[1] Cantemir, tom. iii., p. 136.

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Sultan placed himself at the head of his army. Setting out from Adrianople on the 5th June 1672, he crossed the Danube, traversed Moldavia, and encamped near Choczim, on the banks of the Dniester. The Tartars of the Crimea, led by the Khan Selim Gheraï, here effected a junction with the Turks. In August the Mussulmans crossed the Dniester, and sat down before Kaminiec. That place, which seemed impregnable, capitulated at the end of ten days. The city of Lemberg was taken shortly after. The King of Poland, in consternation, sued for peace, but only obtained it on disgraceful conditions by the treaty of Bucsacs (18th September 1672).

The Poles, excited by the Pope and the German Emperor, refused to ratify the treaty of Bucsacs. The grand chancellor wrote to Ahmed Kupruli, "that the King of Poland, having submitted to conditions of peace without the consent of the republic, it declared them null, and would pay nothing, and resolved to suffer a thousand deaths rather than the infamy attached to the name of tributary." Mahommed IV. placed himself again at the head of his troops, and retook the way to Poland. The Sultan was a second time successful against Kaminiec, the Poles abandoning that place on the approach of the Turks. France, seeing with regret the war waged between Poland and Turkey—war only profitable to the House of Austria—attempted, but in vain, to negotiate a peace; its propositions were not listened to. The Tartar Khan had more success; he served as mediator between Sobieski and Mahommed IV. A treaty was signed at Daoud, near Constantinople (27th October 1676), by which Kaminiec and Podolia remained to the Porte, as well as the Ukraine, with the exception of some towns.

Death of Ahmed Kupruli.—A few days after the conclusion of that treaty Ahmed Kupruli died, having scarcely reached his forty-first year (30th October 1676). He had borne during fifteen years the heaviest burthen of the empire. After Sokolli, he was, beyond doubt, first among the ministers who have directed the Ottoman

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Empire.[1] He had for successor his brother-in-law, the Kaïmacan Kara Mustapha, who maintained himself in power during seven years (1676-83). The accession of that unworthy heir of the Kuprulis marked the beginning of the period of decadence. Puffed up with pride, he displayed the most scandalous ostentation; his harem contained more than 1500 concubines, and at least as many female slaves to attend upon them, with 700 black eunuchs; his horses, dogs, and falcons for hunting were to be counted by thousands. Constantinople, Adrianople, and Belgrade owed, it is true, to his vanity some useful edifices—mosques, fountains, baths, and schools; but, to meet all those expenses, Kara Mustapha had need of enormous sums, which he procured by the most shameful means and the most cruel extortions. He bargained with the European ambassadors for the renewal of the capitulations and even the audiences of the Sultan; he sold governments, dignities, justice; finally, we shall see what dreams of ambition he hoped to realise by the aid of his treasures.

Kara Mustapha manifested no more talent as a general than probity as an administrator. During the last war against Poland, Doroszensko, hetman of the Cossacks, had offered his aid to the Porte; but, through defiance or disdain, the Turks had rejected his proposition. The hetman, out of pique or revenge, submitted himself, with all his people, to the protectorate of Russia. On hearing this, Mahommed IV. drew from the prison of the Seven Towers Georges Kiemielniski, son of an old hetman, and nominated him in the place of Doroszensko. The Cossacks refused to recognise the authority of Kiemielniski. The Porte then was forced to have recourse to arms; 40,000 men traversed Moldavia and Podolia, and advanced towards Cehryn, which they had orders to besiege. At the same time, the Tartars hurried up from the Crimea. The Cossacks and Russians, to the number of 60,000, were entrenched near Cehryn; in order to hinder the junction of the two hostile armies, they put themselves

[1] Von Hammer, tom. iii., p. 162.

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in motion, fell upon the Tartars, and cut them in pieces. The Turks, terrified, recrossed the Bug (1677).

The Divan was ready to open negotiations; but Kara Mustapha energetically opposed that course; and, as the Russians demanded the cession of the Ukraine as far as the Dniester, the Sultan listened to the warlike counsels of the grand vizier. Kara Mustapha himself took the command of the expedition; 30,000 Tartars sent by the Khan of the Crimea, and 4000 Cossacks collected by Kiemielniski, joined with the Ottomans in the attack upon Cehryn. They only took it after a long and murderous siege (1678). To that was limited the success of that campaign. The retreat of the Turks almost resembled a rout: continually harassed by the Russians, who waited for them at all the difficult passes, they lost a great portion of their artillery and baggage. The war dragged on its lengthened course till 1681. At last a peace was concluded at Radzin, through the mediation of the Khan of the Crimea.

The Hungarian War.—The Porte would not probably have consented to treat if its attention had not been called to another quarter by the affairs of Hungary. In that country, the discontent caused by the oppressive government and the fanatical persecution of Protestantism by the Austrian cabinet had gone on increasing. In 1668 a conspiracy had been formed against Leopold by certain Hungarian leaders, which, however, was discovered and frustrated; and it was not till 1678, when the young Count Emmerich Tekeli placed himself at the head of the malcontents, that these disturbances assumed any formidable importance. Tekeli, who possessed much military talent, and was an uncompromising enemy of the House of Austria, having entered Upper Hungary with 12,000 men, defeated the imperial forces, captured several towns, occupied the whole district of the Carpathian Mountains, and compelled the Austrian generals, Counts Wurmb and Leslie, to accept the truce which he offered. The insurgents were encouraged by the Porte, and after the conclusion of the Turkish and Russian war in 1681, Kara

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Mustapha determined to assist them openly. In spite of the liberal offers made to Tekeli by the Emperor, that leader entered into a formal treaty with the Porte, and, in conjunction with the Turks, effected several conquests. Leopold now despatched a splendid embassy to Constantinople in the hope of renewing the treaty of Vasvar, but without avail; the Turks only increased their demands. In the spring of 1683 Sultan Mahommed marched forth from his capital with a large army, which at Belgrade he transferred to the command of Kara Mustapha. Tekeli formed a junction with the Turks at Essek. In vain did Ibrahim, the experienced Pacha of Buda, endeavour to persuade Kara Mustapha first of all to subdue the surrounding country, and to postpone until the following year the attack upon Vienna; his advice was scornfully rejected, and, indeed, the audacity of the grand vizier seemed justified by the little resistance he had met with. The truce, moreover, concluded in 1655 between Austria and Turkey had not yet expired; the Porte therefore could not support Tekeli without an infraction of the treaties; but considerations of that kind had little influence upon the minds of the grand vizier and the Sultan. The governor of Buda had orders to aid Tekeli, who assumed the title of King. Kara Mustapha talked of renewing the conquests of Solyman: he collected, it is said, 700,000 men, 100,000 horses, and 1200 guns—an army more powerful than any the Turks had set on foot since the capture of Constantinople. All of which may be reduced to 150,000 barbarian troops full of disorder, the last conquering army which the degenerate race of the Osmanli produced wherewith to invade Hungary.

The Siege of Vienna (1683).—Hostilities commenced in March 1683; for the Turks, who had not been accustomed to enter upon a campaign before the summer season, had begun their march this year before the end of winter. Some prompt and easy successes exalted the ambition of Kara Mustapha; and notwithstanding the contrary advice of Tekeli, Ibrahim Pacha, and several other personages, he resolved to besiege Vienna. He

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accordingly advanced direct upon that capital and encamped under its walls on the 14th of July. It was at the moment that Louis XIV. had captured Strasbourg, and at which his army seemed ready to cross the Rhine: all Europe was in alarm, thinking that an agreement existed between France and the Porte for the conquest and dismemberment of Germany.

It was fortunate for the Emperor Leopold that he had upon the frontiers of Poland an ally of indomitable courage in King John Sobieski, and that he found the German princes faithful and prompt on this occasion, contrary to their custom, in sending him succour. Moreover, in Duke Charles of Lorraine he met with a skilful general to lead his army. Consternation and confusion prevailed however, in Vienna, whilst the Emperor with his court fled to Linz. Many of the inhabitants had followed him; but the rest, when the first moment of terror had passed, prepared for the defence, and the dilatoriness of the Turks, who amused themselves with pillaging the environs and neighbouring châteaux, allowed the Duke of Lorraine to throw 12,000 men as a garrison into the city; then, as he was unable with his slender force to bar the approach of the Turkish army, he kept aloof and waited for the King of Poland.

Count Rudiger de Stahrenberg was made commandant of the city, and showed himself equally bold and active in everything that could contribute to its defence. The Turkish camp encircled Vienna and its suburbs, covering the country all round to the distance of six leagues. Two days afterwards, Kara Mustapha opened the trenches, and his artillery battered the walls in order to make a breach. Great efforts moreover were made in digging mines, with the design of blowing up bastions or portions of the wall, so that the city might be carried by assault, wherein the Turks hoped to find an immense booty. But the besieged made a sturdy defence, and repaired during the night the damage done on the previous day. Each inch of ground was only obtained by dint of a hard and long struggle, in which an equal stubbornness both in attack and defence

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was exhibited. The hottest fighting took place at the *Label* bastion, around which there was not a foot of ground which had not been steeped in the blood of friend or enemy. However, by degrees, the Turks gained a few paces; at the end of August, they were lodged in the ditches of the city; and, on the 4th of September, they sprung a mine under the *Bourg* bastion; one-half of the city was shaken thereby, and a breach was rent in the bastion wide enough for an assault to be delivered, but the enemy was repulsed. Next day the Turks attacked it with fresh courage; but the valour of the besieged baffled the assailants. On the 10th of September another mine was sprung under the same bastion, and the breach was so wide that a battalion might have entered it abreast. The danger was extreme, for the garrison was exhausted by fighting, sickness, and incessant labour. The Count de Stahrenberg despatched courier after courier to the Duke of Lorraine for succour. At length on the 14th, when the whole city was in a stupor in the immediate expectation of an attack, a movement was observed in the enemy's camp which announced that succour was at hand. At five o'clock in the afternoon the Christian army was descried surmounting the Hill of Kahlen, and it made its presence known by a salvo of artillery. John Sobieski had arrived at the head of a valiant army. The Electors of Saxony and of Bavaria with many princes, dukes, and margraves of Germany, had brought with them fresh troops. Charles of Lorraine might then dare to march against the Moslem, although he had yet only 46,000 men.

Defeat and Flight of the Turkish Army.—On the morning of the 15th of September, the Christian army descended the Hill of Kahlen in order of battle. The village of Naussdorf, situated upon the Danube, was attacked by the Saxon and imperial troops which formed the left wing, and carried after an obstinate resistance. Towards noon, the King of Poland having descended into the plain with the right wing, at the head of his Polish men, attacked the innumerable battalions of Turkish

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cavalry. He flung himself upon the enemy's centre with all the fury of a hurricane, and spread confusion in the ranks; but his courage carried him too far, and he was surrounded, and was on the point of being overwhelmed by numbers. Then, shouting for aid, the German cavalry, which had followed him, charged the enemy at full gallop, delivered the King, and soon put the Turks to flight on all sides. The bodies of more than 10,000 infidels strewed the field of battle.

Vienna Delivered.—But all these combats were mere preludes to the great battle which must decide the fortune of the war. For the Turkish camp with its thousands of tents could still be seen spreading around as far as eye could reach, and its artillery continued to play upon the city. The victorious commander-in-chief was holding a council of war to decide whether to deliver battle on that same day or wait till the morrow to give his troops an interval of rest, when a messenger came with the announcement that the enemy appeared to be in full flight; and it proved to be the fact. A panic had seized the Turks, and they fled in disorder, abandoning their camp and baggage; and soon even those who were attacking the city were seen in full flight with the rest of the army.

The booty found in the Turkish camp was immense. It amounted to fifteen million crowns, and the tent of the vizier alone yielded four hundred thousand crowns. Two millions also were found in the military chest. The King of Poland received for his share four million florins; and in a letter to his wife in which he speaks of that booty, and of the happiness of having delivered Vienna, he thus expresses himself: "All the enemy's camp, with the whole of his artillery and all his enormous riches, have fallen into our hands. We are driving before us a host of camels, mules, and Turkish prisoners."

Capture of Gran.—Count Stahrenberg received the King of Poland in the magnificent tent of the grand vizier, and greeted him as a deliverer. The different commanders then entered Vienna, and in St Stephen's

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church gave thanks for their deliverance. The Emperor Leopold, who returned to Vienna on the 16th of September, instead of expressing his thanks and gratitude to the commanders who had rescued his capital, received them with the haughty and repulsive coldness prescribed by the etiquette of the imperial court. Sobieski nevertheless continued his services by pursuing the retreating Turks. Worsted by them at Parkany on 7th October, he inflicted on them on the 9th, with the aid of the Duke of Lorraine, a signal defeat, in which 15,000 of them are said to have been killed or drowned; and he terminated the campaign with the capture of Gran (27th October), which place had been almost a century and a half in the hands of the Turks. The Sultan, enraged at these misfortunes, caused Kara Mustapha to be beheaded at Belgrade (25th December).

The Holy War.—In the following year, 1684, a league against the Turks, under the protection of the Pope, and thence called the Holy League, was formed by the Emperor, the King of Poland, and the republic of Venice, and it was resolved to procure, if possible, the accession to it of the Czar of Muscovy. The Venetians were induced to join the league in the hope of recovering their former possessions, and declared war against the Sultan, Mahommed IV., 15th July. The war which ensued, now called the *Holy War*, lasted till the peace of Carlowitz in 1699. Venice in this war put forth a strength that was little expected from that declining state. Many thousand Germans were enrolled in her army, commanded by Morosini, and by Count Königsmark, a Swede.

Reverses of the Turks.—The Austrians pursued the campaign in Hungary with success in 1685. The Ottoman army was defeated at Gran, and Neuhausel was shortly after recovered (19th August), the northernmost place held by the Turks. In Upper Hungary, Eperies, Tokay, Kaschan, and several other places, were also retaken. The Grand Vizier Ibrahim was so enraged at these reverses that he caused Tekeli, whom he regarded as the cause of them, to be carried in chains to Adrian-

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~~ople.~~ ~~But Ibrahim being dismissed~~ from office the same year, Tekeli recovered his liberty. The following year was signalised by the taking of Buda by the Duke of Lorraine, which was carried by assault (2d September) after a siege of more than three months. Buda, the capital of Hungary, had been during 145 years in the hands of the Turks. Another campaign sufficed to wrest almost all Hungary from the Porte. The Austrians under the Duke of Lorraine having been joined by the Elector of Bavaria with a large force from the German states, completely defeated the Turks in the battle of Mohacs, the scene of the former triumph of the Ottoman arms (12th August). The Duke of Lorraine followed up this success by reducing all Transylvania, while Slavonia was reconquered by General Dünewald, one of his officers. The chief places in Upper Hungary, including Erlau and Munkacz, were also taken, and Tekeli's wife and her two children captured and sent prisoners to Vienna. Thus before the end of 1687, the whole of Hungary, except a few scattered places, was recovered by Austria. Michael Apafy, however, was left in possession of Transylvania, but on condition of admitting Austrian garrisons into the principal towns, and paying a contribution of 700,000 florins.

The Czar of Muscovy, Ivan Alexiowitsch, who had joined the Holy League in 1686, was frustrated in every attempt to penetrate into the Crimea by the Tartars. The Venetians, on the other hand, had made some splendid conquests. St. Maura, Coron, the mountain tract of Maina, Navarino, Modon, Argos, Napoli di Romania, fell successively into their hands. The year 1687 especially was almost as fatal to the Turks in their war with Venice as in that with Hungary. In this year the Venetians took Patras, the castles at the entrance of the Bay of Lepanto, Lepanto itself, all the northern coast of the Morea, Corinth, and Athens. Athens had been abandoned with the exception of the Acropolis, or citadel; and it was in this siege that one of the Venetian bombs fell into the Parthenon, which had been converted

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by the Turks into a powder magazine, and destroyed the greater part of those magnificent remains of classical antiquity. The Acropolis surrendered 29th September 1687.



THE PARTHENON, ATHENS.

Deposition of Mahommed IV.—The fall of Athens, added to the disastrous news from Hungary, excited the greatest consternation and discontent at Constantinople. The enemies of the grand vizier conspired to effect his ruin, and the results of the campaign proved the truth of the predictions of the peace partisans. Mahommed IV. sent his grand chamberlain to Belgrade with an order to bring back the head of the vizier (1683): it was accordingly brought to the Sultan on a silver salver. The seals were given to Siawusch Pacha. Not content, however, with these concessions, the army marched to Adrianople, and now demanded the deposition of the Sultan himself, in favour of his brother, Solyman. Their demands were seconded by a large party in the metropolis; the ulema assembled in the mosque of St Sophia at Constantinople (8th November 1687), and having sanctioned the demands of the troops, Solyman II. was saluted as Padischah in place of his brother. Mahommed IV. was thrown into prison, where he died disregarded five years afterwards.

Solyman II. had lived during forty-six years in the most absolute seclusion, wholly devoted to the study of

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law and religion. The news of his elevation to the throne struck him with terror. "In the name of the immortal Creator," he exclaimed, "wherefore come you thus to disturb my tranquillity? Leave me, I conjure you, to pass in peace in my retirement the short span of life remaining to me; let my brother continue to rule the empire; I was born only to meditate upon what concerns the life eternal." It was represented to him that the determination of the viziers, the ulema, the army, and the people, could not be revoked; that to remit the sovereign power to the hands of Mahommed would be to expose the state to the greatest perils. "I would fain resign myself to the necessity, but I dread my brother," was his reply. He was dragged almost by main force from his apartment as far as the throne-room. There he looked around on all sides trembling from head to foot, and muttering that the sight alone of his brother would be enough to cause his death. At length, after having undergone purification, he consented to receive the homage of the ulema and the great dignitaries.

Sanguinary Atrocities of the Janissaries.—This revolution had scarcely been completed, when Siawusch entered Constantinople at the head of the rebellious troops. The Janissaries and spahis now became more turbulent than before. They demanded that the usual donation on the accession of the new Sultan should be increased, and that all such ministers and placemen as they disapproved of should be banished. Some of the viziers having attempted to resist their demands, a dreadful riot ensued; the palaces of all the ministers were stormed, plundered, and burnt; and even the Grand Vizier Siawusch himself fell by the hands of those who had elected him. He defended himself for awhile with the utmost energy, but succumbed at last to numbers, his body being torn into shreds. The assassins then penetrated within the harem of the slain vizier, seized his wife and sister, cut off their noses, hands, and feet, and afterwards dragged them naked through the streets. Their slaves suffered similar treatment at the hands of

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the brutal soldiery. After these exploits, the rebels spread themselves through every quarter of Constantinople, massacring and pillaging as they went. To arrest their fury, the ulema planted the sacred standard of the Prophet at the Seraglio gate, and called upon all faithful Mussulmans to aid them in the suppression of the revolt. The Janissaries and spahis were only thus at last controlled by the people rising against them (February 1688), and peace was gradually restored. The aged Ismael Pacha was now entrusted with the seals of the empire, and with the conduct of a war which seemed to threaten the Osmanli Empire with destruction. For the campaign of 1688 was still more disastrous to the Turks than the preceding one. The imperialists, under the Elector of Bavaria, took Belgrade, while another division under the Margrave Louis of Baden overrun great part of Bosnia.

Reverses of the Porte.—Humbled by these reverses, the Porte, for the first time, began to make proposals for peace, and was disposed to make very ample concessions. The Emperor, elated by his successes against the Turks, dreamt of nothing less than putting an end to the Turkish Empire in Europe, and effecting the union of the Greek and Latin Churches. The war therefore went on, and the result of the campaign of 1689 seemed to justify the Margrave of Baden, who advised its continuance. That commander, carrying the war from Bosnia into Servia, inflicted several severe defeats upon the Turks, occupied the passes of the Balkan from the borders of Roumelia to the Herzegovina, and captured all the fortresses on the Danube from Widdin to Nicopolis, so that he was enabled to take up his winter quarters in Wallachia.

The Turks, however, after the rejection of their proposals, prepared to recover their losses. Mustapha Kupruli, who had now been appointed grand vizier, infused more vigour into the government; and with the assistance of Tekeli, who had been appointed Prince of Transylvania after the death of Michael Apafy in April 1690, the Turks this year recovered almost all that they

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had previously lost. Belgrade was retaken, to the great alarm of the Viennese; and even in the winter time Turkish divisions pushed on to Temesvar, Great Waradin, and even into Transylvania. But in 1691, the Margrave Louis, though he had only about 45,000 men to oppose to more than double that number of Turks, completely defeated them at Salankemen (August 19th), in which battle Mustapha Kupruli *the Virtuous* was slain. The victory, however, had not the important consequences that might have been anticipated, and the next four or five years are barren of great events. They were, however, marked by a frequent change of sultans. Solyman II. died in June 1691, and was succeeded by his brother Achmet II., who in February 1695 in turn gave place to Mustapha II. Mustapha was an energetic prince, and having determined to put himself at the head of his armies, he crossed the Danube, captured several places, and in 1696 defeated the imperialists at Bega.

The success of that campaign had re-awakened the enthusiasm of the Mussulmans. But the following year, fortune changed her face. Prince Eugene of Savoy, formed in the Hungarian war and the school of the Duke of Lorraine, was placed by the Emperor at the head of the Austrian army. After a series of skilful marches and counter-marches, he fell upon the Turks at the fords of the Theiss, near Zenta. Twenty thousand Ottomans were left on the field of battle; 10,000 perished in the stream; the grand vizier was slain, and the Sultan took flight. Some few days after the conquerors entered Bosnia (1697).

Kupruli Hussein.—The empire was in great peril, and it was once more a Kupruli who was summoned to save it. Mustapha gave the standard and the seals to Kupruli Hussein, nephew of Kupruli Mahommed. The new grand vizier, by clever expedients, provided for the most pressing needs, and the Ottoman army being enabled to put itself again in motion, the Austrians recrossed the Save and took up their winter quarters in Hungary.

Louis XIV., exhausted by the struggle which he had

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sustained against one-half of Europe, was at that moment meditating the desirableness of peace. Of this he apprised the Divan, and offered his intervention to obtain its admission to the negotiations he was about to open. That offer met with a decided refusal from the Sultan, who hoped to recover the provinces which he had lost during the war; and, moreover, he distrusted the ambassador who made those propositions on the part of France. That ambassador was M. de Feriol, who had succeeded Chateauneuf. Badly instructed in the usages of the Porte, notwithstanding the seven campaigns he had made with the Turks, he had offended the Ottoman court by his conceitedness of manner, and had insulted the Grand Seignior by presenting himself at an audience wearing a sword at his side.

Rupture between the Porte and France.—Though Louis XIV. had signed the treaty of Ryswyck in 1698, yet he now advised the Divan to continue the war, urging that the peace which he had just concluded was only a truce, and that the approaching demise of Charles II. of Spain was about to re-open a struggle in which France would deploy all her strength against the House of Austria. The Porte was dissatisfied with the conduct of the French king, whom it regarded as abandoned by the other powers of Europe. It listened to the solicitations of William of Orange, who won over by dint of gold, it was said, the members of the Divan to accept the mediation of England and Holland; and, finally, it made overtures of peace to Austria. Louis XIV. remonstrated with the Divan upon the error it was about to commit: representing that "Turkey conquered could only obtain peace under conditions upon which depended its very existence; for the Turks, in all their wars with the Christians, had never receded; and should they now do so, the prestige attached to their power would be dissipated." He therefore advised the Porte to prolong the war until France could take up arms again; and he engaged not to lay them down until Turkey had recovered Hungary and all her lost provinces.

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But these representations of the great monarch were transmitted by Feriol, a man in whom the Divan had no confidence, and even regarded as imbecile; moreover, the ambassadors of William had made themselves masters of the chief ministers, either through intrigue or fear. Louis XIV. was answered that France made peace at her own time and will, and that the Porte would do the same. Thereupon negotiations were opened through the mediation of England and Holland, which Feriol attempted to traverse. "He set every engine to work to that end," says Cantemir, "but he did not succeed. The Divan ended even by inviting him not to give himself needless trouble; that peace was determined upon, and peace would be made." And it was, in fact, signed at Carlowitz (1699).

Treaty of Carlowitz.—Turkey ceded to Leopold Hungary and Transylvania, with its natural limits, from Podolia to Wallachia, reserving only the territory between the Theiss and the Marosk. In the Syrmium, a conventional line was traced, marked out by a series of ditches or stakes, from the confluence of the Theiss with the Danube to the mouth of the Bossut in the Save. From that point the course of the Save forms a natural frontier, continued onwards by the Unna. Poland recovered Kaminiec, Podolia, and the Ukraine. Russia retained Azof. Venice only gave up the conquests made by her to the north of the Gulf of Corinth, and almost the whole of Dalmatia; she evacuated Lepanto, but only after destroying its fortifications. All the tributes paid by the Christian powers to the Ottoman Porte were abolished.

Decline of the Ottoman Power.—The loss of Hungary and Transylvania, of the Morea, Dalmatia, Podolia, the Ukraine, and Azof, was the first great gap made in the Ottoman Empire. From that moment, it ceased to be formidable to Europe. It found itself mixed up in all the affairs of the West—that power which had owed its greatness to its isolation; in fine, instead of being dominated by the advice of its old and intimate ally, it

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had to submit to the influence of ambitious neighbours or interested friends. Its decadence could no longer be arrested; the Russians, by acquiring an entrance to the southern seas, had just commenced their European existence.

"The peace of Carlowitz," says Hammer, "restrained the Turks, on the side of Poland and Hungary, within the limits of the Dniester, the Save, and the Unna. That treaty proclaimed significantly the decadence of the Ottoman Empire, which, suspended for some time by the iron arm of Amurath III. and the sanguinary remedies of the elder Kupruli, could not be arrested afterwards by the politic wisdom of the grand vizier of the latter's family, nor hidden from the eyes of the world by the hosts of undisciplined soldiers thrust forward by the Porte in its distress. A century elapsed between the submission of Hungary to Turkish tyranny and the establishment of the *nisami-dschedid* ('equitable reparation') by the wise and virtuous Mustapha Kupruli for the relief of the rayahs." A century more passed before that renovated institution, under the reign of Selim III., was vigorously applied on a more extended scale. If the example of the third Kupruli, in his measures of humanity in behalf of the Christian subjects of the empire had been followed up by the grand viziers, his successors; if the system of equitable reparation which he had conceived, and which tended to restore order and economy in the public administration, had been carried into effect, the existence of Turkey would not have been compromised. At the present day, by the irresistible effect of time, which changes all things, and which inevitably brings about everywhere necessary progress, the Mahommedan dominator has no other alternative than of renouncing his power over the Christians, or of exercising it with more gentleness and moderation, according to the dictates of interest and of prudence.

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BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE PEACE OF CARLOWITZ TO THE PEACE OF PASSAROWITZ (1699-1718).

Administration of Kupruli Hussein.—In the new situation which the peace of Carlowitz had placed the Ottoman Empire, Kupruli Hussein, surnamed *the Wise*, comprehended the necessity of reforms, and followed, with regard to the Christian subjects, the example of Kupruli *the Virtuous*. Immediately after the signature of the peace of Carlowitz, he granted to the inhabitants of Servia and the Banat exemption from the capitation tax for the current year; in Roumelia, he forgave the rayahs a million and a half of contributions in arrears; in Syria, he gave them freedom of pasturage for their flocks.

His attention was not confined to the Christians. At the same time that he strove to recall the faithful Mussulmans to the study and practice of their religion, whilst respecting the rights of the Christians, the grand vizier re-established order in the finances, revised the muster-rolls of the Janissaries, provided for the re-equipment of the navy, and undertook, sometimes at his own expense, sometimes at the cost of the state, great works of public utility: canals, bridges, aqueducts, mosques, schools, markets, barracks, etc.; the strongholds of Belgrade, Temesvar, and Nissa were also again put into a good state of defence. Kupruli Hussein was a generous and magnanimous man, a great politician, and a friend of learned men; he was prematurely lost to the empire. Revolts,

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which were quickly suppressed, in Arabia, Egypt, and the Crimea, having troubled the end of his administration, he succumbed, under the intrigues of the mufti, was deposed from power, and died a few days after his disgrace (September 1702).

Deposition of Mustapha II.—After the death of Kupruli, the disorders recommenced. His successor, Dallaban Pacha, a brutal and ferocious Serb, wished to break the treaty of Carlowitz; he was strangled. The new grand vizier, Nami, a partisan of peace, endeavoured to finish the work of Kupruli; but he displeased the ulema and the Janissaries; an insurrection broke out; the troops sent to repress it fraternised with the rebels. The Sultan Mustapha II. was deposed, and ceded the throne to his brother Achmet III. (1703).

Achmet III.—The reign of Achmet III. (1703-30) may be divided into two periods. During the first (1703-18), power passed from hand to hand; the grand viziers succeeded each other with a deplorable rapidity; the Ottoman Empire, after a few years of repose, became engaged in a series of quarrels with Russia, Venice, and Austria. The second is wholly occupied with the ministry of Ibrahim, which also gives employment to the military activity of the Turks, but which turns to the side of Persia, and seeks for enemies more easy to conquer than the Christians.

Neutrality of the Porte.—Since the treaty of Carlowitz, the party of peace prevailed in the Divan. When Louis XIV. began the great struggle of the Spanish Succession, he gave orders to Feriol to demonstrate to the Porte that the opportunity was decisive for avenging itself for its past defeats, and for resuming its old position; that Spain and Italy having fallen to the House of Bourbon, doubled the advantages and the resources of the French alliance; that there was nothing to fear from the renewal of the Holy League of 1685, for the Venetians and the Poles desired to remain neutral; finally, it was only required of the Turks that they should enter Hungary, which was still in revolt, and

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allow the Tartar Khan to attack the Russians. But the sanguinary troubles which marked the end of the reign of Mustapha II. rendered all negotiation at first impossible, and, when they were appeased, the Sultan Achmet, immersed in the pleasures of the seraglio, obstinately refused to mix himself up in a war in which he saw that the only profit to be derived from it by the Turks was by allowing the infidels to slaughter each other. When France experienced reverses, she renewed her solicitations by pointing out to the Divan the danger and disgrace of its absurd repose. It was altogether useless: the bad success attending the French arms proved injurious to her representations, and the overtures of her ambassador were thwarted victoriously by the intrigues and money of England and Holland.

The result of the neutrality of the Porte was at first that France, constrained to distribute widely her maritime forces for the defence of the numerous possessions of Spain, lost her sway over the Mediterranean, where she allowed England to establish herself, and consequently saw her influence in the East shaken; afterwards that Turkey, already divested at Carlowitz of the pristine terror her arms inspired, continued to lose in peace her political importance; finally, that, during that kind of suspension of the Turco-French alliance, Russia profited by the war of the Spanish Succession, in which all the West was engaged, to follow up her projects of conquest over the Ottoman Empire.

Policy and Pretensions of the Greek Church.—The Greek Church, so fatal to Europe and to civilisation, had in its extreme decrepitude given birth to a last and pitiful abortion of the siege of Byzantium, the Russian Church, which scarcely received in birth a feeble breath of evangelical life, and which never availed itself thereof save in the political interests of the temporal power which kept it in servitude. Its pretension, from the most remote times, was to reunite to her all the nations which held her belief; therefore, of inheriting the religious power of Constantinople, and of re-estab-

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lishing the Eastern Empire to the profit of the Czars of Moscow. Peter the Great possessed as yet only a barbarian state, without ports, armies, or finances; he had before him Sweden, Poland, Turkey, which interdicted from Russia a European existence; in fine, he did not yet hold an inch of ground upon the shores of the Black Sea. He was already intriguing throughout Greece, stirring up the people of Slave race, opposing secretly the influence of France over the Oriental Christians, and undermining the Ottoman Empire. Thus the Greeks, who had preserved in slavery all their hatred of the Latins, turned themselves hopefully towards the barbarians of the north, whom they regarded thenceforward as their liberators, from whom they received secret presents, and whose agents they welcomed. "The Greeks," says the English historian, Rycaut, who wrote in 1670, "hold the Muscovite in great consideration, and have more friendship for him than for the other Christian princes; they commonly call him their emperor and protector; and, according to all their prophecies, ancient and modern, he is destined to be the restorer of their Church and of their freedom." "They flatter themselves," says Tournefort, who travelled in the Archipelago in 1700, "that the Grand Duke of Moscovy will some day extricate them from the misery in which they now are, and that he will destroy the Empire of the Turks." "They are persuaded," says the Jesuit Souciet, missionary at Thessalonica in 1708, "that the Czar will deliver them one day from the domination of the Ottomans.'

Charles XII. of Sweden.—The Porte had but a feeble dread of the Russians. It was separated from them by deserts, and by the Tartars of the Crimea, whose incursions had so often compelled them to implore peace and pay tributes. It had not comprehended the importance of the alliance of 1685, between Russia and Austria —an alliance suggested to the Emperor Leopold by Montecuculli, and which, for the first time, caused the barbarians of the north to enter into the affairs of the south of Europe. It was only humiliated by the cession

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of Azof, which unveiled, however, the aspirations of the Russians with regard to the Black Sea. After the peace the Porte did not disquiet itself on seeing Peter the Great extend his projects upon that sea, fortify Azof, and build ships there; attempt, by an establishment at Vronez, to pierce the barrier which the Tartars opposed to him; it even supinely regarded the terrible war in which Charles XII. tried to stifle the Muscovite eagle by giving a new life to Poland. However, it secretly led the King of Sweden to hope that the Khan of the Crimea would march to his assistance. Reckoning upon that futile promise, Charles XII. adventured into the interior of Russia with an army of 16,000 men; he was conquered at Pultowa (1709), sought a refuge in Turkey, established himself at Bender, and from thence he intrigued with the Divan to draw Achmet III. into the war against Peter I. On his side the Czar complained of the hospitality accorded to his enemy, and demanded the extradition of Mazeppa, hetman of the Cossacks, who had delivered up the Ukraine to the King of Sweden. The French ambassadors joined their remonstrances to the solicitations of Charles XII.; but they would have remained without result, as well as the urgency of the Tartar Khan, if the embassy of the Czar had not come by way of the Black Sea on board a squadron which cast anchor before the windows of the Seraglio! Mussulman pride was irritated at the appearance of infidels in the seas interdicted to Christian commerce, and regarded as sacred by the fanaticism of the Osmanli. War was declared.

Rupture between the Porte and Russia.—Peter the Great appeared at first surprised at that energetic resolution. He reckoned upon the artifices of Tolstoi, his ambassador, upon the corruption of the viziers, upon the dilatoriness of the Divan, and the weakness of Achmet III. But, in reality, he had only been anticipated, as, for some time past, he had taken measures to begin the war and to secure to himself partisans in the states of the Grand Seignior. His emissaries, traversing secretly

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Moldavia and Wallachia, excited everywhere the inhabitants to revolt. The hospodars whom the Porte had nominated to administer these provinces were sold to Russia. Immediately after the rupture there appeared a proclamation of the Czar, which guaranteed to the Moldo-Wallachians the exclusive exercise of the Greek religion, and enfranchisement from Turkish domination.[1] Finally, a bishop, the chief agent of these intrigues, was seen at Jerusalem circulating a report that a prophecy had been found within the tomb of Constantine, which announced that the Turks would be driven out of Europe by the Russian nation. Peter I., reckoning upon the revolt of all the peoples of the Greek religion, flattered himself that he was about to plant the Russian eagle upon the minaret of the Seraglio.

War against Russia.—Meanwhile Charles XII. had been straining every nerve to incite the Porte to hostilities against Russia; in this he was assisted by his friend Count Poniatowski, by the Khan of Tartary, and by the French ambassador at Constantinople. Their efforts at length succeeded. On 21st November 1710, the Sultan Achmet III. declared war against the Czar, and, according to Turkish custom, imprisoned Tolstoi, the Russian ambassador, in the Seven Towers. Peter, relying on the negotiations which he had entered into with the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, despatched a Russian division under Scheremetoff to the Pruth; and he himself set off in the same direction in the spring of 1711. Demetrius Cantemir, the Hospodar of Moldavia, a prince of Greek origin, who had engaged to assist the Czar in his war with the Turks on condition that Peter should aid him in rendering his sovereignty hereditary, induced the Russians to cross the Pruth by representing that they would be able to seize some considerable Turkish magazines. But Peter, when he had crossed the river, found that he had been completely deceived. The Moldavians were not inclined to rise, and the want of forage and other necessaries soon compelled the Czar to

[1] Perry, "The State of Russia," p. 45.

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retreat. But he had not proceeded far when he was overtaken and hemmed in by the Turkish army, which was infinitely more numerous than his own, in a spot between the Pruth and a morass. In this situation, to retreat or to advance seemed equally impossible; yet the want of provisions compelled him not to remain stationary. Despair now seized the heart of Peter. A single hour might upset all those plans and labours for the benefit of his country which had occupied his whole life; and in his distress and agitation, which he cared not to betray, he shut himself up in his tent, and gave strict orders that nobody should be admitted to his presence.

The Empress Catharine I. of Russia.—In these circumstances, a council of the principal Russian officers determined that the only chance of escape was to come to terms with the grand vizier, Mahommed Baltadschi, who commanded the Turkish army. None, however, was bold enough to communicate this decision to the Czar, except Catharine his wife. Catharine, who, before her capture at Marienburg, had been betrothed to a Swedish corporal, had subsequently been the mistress of Scheremetoff and Menschikoff. In this last capacity she attracted the notice and love of Peter, who secretly married her in 1707, and before setting out on this expedition against the Turks, in which she accompanied him, he had publicly proclaimed her to be his lawful consort. Although so illiterate that she could not even read or write, she had great skill in penetrating the characters of those with whom she was connected, and of adapting herself to their views and dispositions. She had gained complete empire over Peter by entering warmly into all his plans, and while she seemed to humour him in all his caprices, she entirely governed him. She alone undertook an office which might have cost another his life; she entered Peter's tent, soothed him by her caresses, and persuaded him to send a messenger to the vizier with offers of peace. She obtained from the principal officers what money they had to make up the customary present on such occasions, to which she

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added her own jewels. Fortunately for the Russians, Mahommed Baltadschi was anything but a hero. An intimation on the part of the Czar, supported by a slight demonstration in the Russian camp, that, if his proposals were not accepted, he meant to force his way through at the point of the bayonet, induced the vizier to come to terms. In this moment of awful suspense, Peter displayed the great qualities which he really possessed, though they were sometimes obscured by the peculiarities of his temperament. He addressed a letter to his senate, in which he directed them that, in the event of his being made a prisoner, they should no longer regard him as their sovereign nor obey any instructions they might receive in his name, even though signed with his own hand; while, if he should be killed, they were immediately to elect another czar. The vizier, however, consented to receive the Russian plenipotentiaries, and on 21st July was signed the capitulation of the Pruth. By this convention the Czar agreed to restore Azof to the Porte, to destroy the fortifications of Taganrog, Kamenska, and Samara, to recall his army from Poland, and to forbear from all interference in the affairs of the Cossacks subject to the Khan of Tartary. No stipulation was made respecting the King of Sweden, except that he should be permitted to return unmolested to his own dominions.

Revenge of Charles XII.—When the Russian army was first surrounded in a situation from which it seemed impossible to escape, Poniatowski, who had accompanied the grand vizier, despatched a messenger in all haste to Charles XII. at Bender, begging him to come without delay and behold the consummation of his adversary's ruin. Charles instantly obeyed the summons, but, to his unspeakable mortification and rage, arrived only in time to see in the distance the last retreating ranks of the Russian rear-guard. Loud and bitter were the reproaches which Charles addressed to Baltadschi for his conduct. He besought the vizier to lend him 20,000 or 30,000 men, wherewith he promised to bring back the Czar and his

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whole army prisoners; but Baltadschi, with a mortifying apathy, pleaded the faith of treaties, and Charles, rushing from the vizier's tent with a loud and contemptuous laugh, mounted his horse and rode full gallop to Bender. Here he and Poniatowski, in conjunction with the Khan of Tartary, employed themselves in effecting the ruin of the grand vizier. He was accused of having taken bribes to grant the peace; and though the news of the capitulation had at first been received at Constantinople with every demonstration of joy, these accusations, supported by the enemies of Baltadschi in the Seraglio, procured his banishment to Lemnos, where he died the following year.

Obstinacy of Charles XII.—The Sultan now endeavoured to hasten the departure from his dominions of the King of Sweden, who was both a troublesome and an expensive guest. But Charles was not disposed to quit, except on the most exorbitant terms. He demanded a payment of 600,000 dollars and an escort of 30,000 men, while the Porte was inclined to grant only 6000 men and no money. After a forbearance of many months, the Sultan at length prepared to use force. Charles's daily allowance was withdrawn, and the Janissaries were commanded to seize his person, dead or alive. Charles betrayed on this occasion a characteristic obstinacy and recklessness. Although surrounded by a force that left no hope of successful resistance, he resolved, with a few hundred followers, to defend to the last extremity his little camp at Varnitza, which he had fortified with a barricade composed of chairs, tables, casks, bedding, and whatever came to hand; and it was not till after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, in which he was more than once wounded, that he was at length secured (February 1713). Charles was now carried to Demotica, where a residence was assigned to him, but with a very reduced allowance. Shortly after his departure from Bender, King Stanislaus arrived at that place, with the view, it is said, of mediating a peace between Charles and Augustus of Poland, by resigning the crown of Poland. But

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Charles would not hear of such an arrangement. He still entertained the hope that the Porte might be induced to take up his own cause as well as that of Stanislaus. But these expectations were frustrated by a treaty, concluded in April 1714, between the Porte and Augustus II., by which the peace of Carlowitz was confirmed.

About the same time, Charles XII., at length abandoning all hope of inducing the Porte to take up his cause against the Czar, was persuaded by General Lieven to return to his kingdom, or rather to his army in the north of Germany. The Emperor promised him a safe passage through his dominions; the Sultan provided him with an escort to the frontiers; but Charles, impatient of the slow progress of the Turks, set off with only two companions, and crossing the Hungarian frontier, proceeded through Hermannstadt, Buda, Vienna, Ratisbon, Hanau, to Stralsund. This extraordinary journey, which was lengthened by a considerable *detour*, and must have been at least 1100 miles in length, was performed for the most part on horseback, and was accomplished in seventeen days.

War against the Morea (1715).—The peace between the Sultan and the Czar has been already recorded. One of the chief motives of the Porte for assuring tranquillity on this side was that it might turn its arms elsewhere. Great activity was observed in the Turkish arsenals, but the object of it was long uncertain. The Emperor, then engaged in the war of the Spanish Succession, assembled in 1714 an army of observation of 50,000 men in Hungary and Transylvania. It appeared at last that the mighty preparations of the Turks were directed against Venice, with the view of recovering the Morea, a loss which the Porte had never been able to digest. In December 1714 the Venetian *bayle* at Constantinople was informed in the grossest terms by the grand vizier, Damad Ali Pacha, that it was the intention of his master not to rest till he had recovered the Morea; he was directed to leave Constantinople in three days, and, together with all other Venetians, the Turkish territories in three weeks; but before that time had expired, he was imprisoned in

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the castle of the Dardanelles, and his suite of forty-two persons in the Seven Towers, as hostages for the security of Turkish subjects in the Venetian dominions. The *Signoria*, relying on a peace guaranteed by the Emperor, had made but small preparations for defence. Their rule in the Morea had been highly unpopular. The inhabitants preferred the Turkish government as both cheaper and less oppressive, and were not therefore disposed to fight in the cause of their Venetian masters. Hence, when the Turks entered the Morea in the summer of 1715 with overwhelming numbers, the inhabitants in many places hastened to submit; and as the Venetians were neither strong enough to cope with the Turks in the open field, nor the fortresses of the peninsula in a state to resist a lengthened siege, the whole of the Morea was wrested from them in the course of a few months.

Prince Eugene defeats the Turks at Peterwardein.—The Emperor was alarmed at the sudden and decisive success of the Turks; and as Louis XIV. had died during the campaign, he was the more disposed to listen to the prayers of the Venetians for assistance. He was strongly exhorted to this step by Prince Eugene, who represented to him the danger that would accrue to his Italian and even German states, if the Turks should get possession of the Ionian islands. An alliance was accordingly signed with the *Signoria*, 13th April 1716. It purported to be a renewal of the Holy League of 1684, and the *casus belli* against the Porte was, therefore, the violation of the peace of Carlowitz; but instead of being merely directed against that power, it was extended to a general defensive alliance with the Venetian republic. Under the energetic superintendence of Eugene, the preparations for war were soon completed. In the course of April three Austrian divisions entered Hungary, Eugene himself being at the head of the largest, composed of 70,000 men. On the other hand the grand vizier, with 100,000 men, marched towards Belgrade; while the agents of the Porte incited to insurrection the malcontent Hungarians, and their leader, Ragoczy, who aimed at obtaining the princi-

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pality of Transylvania, and even the title of King of Hungary. The vizier having attacked Eugene in his fortified camp before Peterwardein on 3d August, that commander offered him battle on the 5th, in which the vizier himself was slain, and the Turks utterly defeated. This victory is principally ascribed to the use of heavy cavalry, with which the Turks were as yet unacquainted. The fruits of it were the surrender of Temesvar, and even Wallachia declared for the Emperor; a manifestation, however, which led to no result. In the same year an attempt of the Turks upon Corfu was repulsed, chiefly through the military talents of Baron Schulenburg, whom we have already met with in the Polish war, and whose services the Venetians had procured.

The victor of Zenta and Peterwardein pursued his triumphal course upon the Ottoman territory, and compelled Temesvar to capitulate. The year following he defeated the new grand vizier, Khalil Pacha (16th August 1717), and two days after he entered Belgrade, whilst General Petrusch invaded Bosnia, and in Dalmatia the Venetians obtained some important advantages. Ibrahim Pacha having then received the imperial seals, his first care was to negotiate a peace.

Treaty of Passarowitz (1718).—At this epoch, the Regent Duke of Orleans and the King of England, George I., had entered into an alliance to constrain the King of Spain and the Emperor to respect the stipulations of Utrecht, and a war between France and Austria appeared imminent. The Marquis de Bonac, the French ambassador at Constantinople, solicited the Turks to continue hostilities, by promising them the assistance of his court. But Charles VI. of Austria hastened to yield to the exigencies of the Regent and King George; and England having offered her mediation to the Divan, peace was signed at Passarowitz (21st July).

Russian Encroachments.—At the news of the peace of Passarowitz, Peter I. solicited modifications in the treaties of Falksen, Adrianople, and Constantinople, and he obtained, in fact, a new treaty which contained two remark-

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able articles—the one relating to Poland, the other to the Holy Places.

"All things have a beginning," says an historian, "and, as we see, the first step is a modest one, and has nothing which presages the exorbitant pretensions which were destined one day to excite to so high a degree the attention and the fears of the powers in alliance with Turkey." [1]

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE PEACE OF PASSAROWITZ TO THE PEACE OF BELGRADE (1718-1739).

Peter the Great's Policy.—Peter the Great, as has been seen, took no part in the war which the peace of Passarowitz terminated. He continued covertly his enterprises against Sweden and Poland, and, not content with having isolated the Ottoman Empire from those two states, he attempted even to break up the old amity existing between France and Turkey. During the visit which he made to the court of Louis XV. (1707), he proposed an alliance with the Regent, and obtained from him only a treaty of commerce; but he made partisans among certain French nobles, who, looking upon England and Austria as their natural, irreconcilable enemies, were desirous of replacing the alliance of Sweden, Poland, and Turkey, henceforth more onerous than profitable, by that of Russia. The Ottoman court became uneasy at the Czar's visit. Since it had become mixed up in all the affairs of Europe, it began to recognise the necessity of penetrating deeper into the policy of the Christian states, and in order to form an exact idea of the situation of the West,

[1] Cæsar Famin, "History of the Rivalry of the Christian Churches in the East," p. 256.

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it sent to France (1721) an extraordinary embassy, to conduct which it selected one of the negotiators of Passarowitz, Mahommed Effendi, a sensible and well-informed man. The pretext of his mission was to present to the King, with gifts from the Sultan, firmans which gave validity to the demands of France concerning the Holy Places. That embassy made a great noise, but led to no result. Mahommed Effendi met with a gracious reception; all the necessary instructions were given him wherewith to enlighten the Divan as to its true interests; a project even was brought forward of an alliance offensive and defensive between the two powers. But all this did not succeed in arousing the Ottoman court from its apathy, its ignorance, and its prejudices; and France, being desirous at that juncture of inducing it to intervene in the Northern war to save Sweden from the grasp of Russia, found it only turned a deaf ear to every argument, and was herself compelled, at a cost of millions and by her menacing mediation, to prevent the complete destitution of that power by the treaty of Nystadt (1721).

The Czar had scarcely terminated that war, ere he turned his eyes towards the other side of his empire in search of aggrandisements. In 1722 the Shah of Persia, the last real sovereign of the dynasty of the Sofis, having abdicated in favour of Mir Mahmoud, civil war broke out among the Persians. Peter I. profited by these troubles to seize upon the countries adjacent to the Caspian Sea. Whereupon the Sultan caused his troops to invade Armenia and Persian Georgia; and war seemed declared between Turks and Russians. The Turks speedily made themselves masters of Hamadan, Erivan, Tebriz, etc. One campaign sufficed to put them in possession of the portion of the Persian territory which Russia had abandoned to them.

Secret Treaty between Catharine I. and Austria.—Peter the Great died; Catharine, heiress of his ideas and of his sceptre, sought, in a close alliance with Austria, the support which Russia needed to ruin, in spite of France, the Ottoman Empire, and the treaty of Vienna was con-

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cluded (1725). That treaty, which has renewed, reinforced, and fixed the alliance between the two courts against Turkey, had for its principal condition—a condition kept secret down to the present time—that Austria and Russia bound themselves in perpetuity, in case of war with the Porte between either of them, to unite their armies and not make a separate peace.

War with Persia—Deposition of Achmet III. (1730).—Meanwhile the Turks extended and consolidated their conquests in Persia; that unhappy country was desolated at once by foreign invasion and civil war. Echref caused his cousin Mir Mahmoud to be strangled, and seized upon his power. His rival, Shah Thamas, offered to the Porte the sovereignty of the provinces it had occupied. The Turks treated with him, but Echref, in the ascendant, demanded peace, acceded to the conditions proposed by his competitor, and was recognised as legitimate sovereign of Iran. He was speedily overthrown by Nadir, lieutenant of Thamas, and the latter having re-entered Ispahan, Nadir invaded the Ottoman frontiers. Ibrahim Pacha was desirous of peace; he tried to negotiate, and only set out with regret to repulse the Persians. His tergiversations irritated the Turks. The Janissaries, excited to revolt by a certain Patrona Khalil, demanded that in twenty-four hours the grand vizier, the mufti, and the capudan-pacha should be given up to them. The Sultan was unable to shield his favourite from the fury of the soldiers and populace; Ibrahim was put to death; but that detestable sacrifice did not save Achmet III. The rebels shouted, "Long live Mahmoud!" and the Sultan Achmet, without attempting a useless resistance, himself acknowledged as Padischah his nephew Mahmoud I. (1730).

Mahmoud I.—The capital and empire remained for some time in the power of Patrona Khalil, who, whilst still wearing his uniform of a common Janissary, dictated his will to the Divan, imposed decrees for the relief of the people, and, through the favour of the soldiery and the populace, seemed sole heir of Achmet III. This ener-

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getic ruler was got rid of by treason; he was assassinated in an ambush, under the eyes of Mahmoud and his ministers. His partisans rose in arms, but the insurrection had no longer a head; it was stifled in the blood of several thousand victims.

Alberoni's Scheme for the Annihilation of Turkey—Order once more restored.—The war with Persia still went on. In 1733 and 1734 the Osmanli made two most unsuccessful campaigns against that country, so that they confessed themselves "that they were never more embarrassed since the establishment of their monarchy." The fate of the Turkish Empire had already become an object of solicitude to the statesmen of Europe. It was remarked that the Osmanli dominion was supported, not by its own intrinsic power, but through the jealousy of Christian princes, who did not wish to see the states of others aggrandised by the partition of its provinces. It was at this time that Cardinal Alberoni amused his leisure hours by drawing up a scheme for the annihilation of Turkey as an independent power—a proof of the interest excited by the fate of Turkey among the politicians of that day. It does not appear, however, that any jealousy then existed of Russia aggrandising herself at the expense of that empire.

The consequences of the treaty of Vienna (1725) were not long in developing themselves. Poland, devoured during two centuries by perpetual anarchy, seemed devoted to certain ruin, and possessed in all Europe only one single power that would interest itself in her salvation—France. Thus Russia, Austria, and Prussia, foreseeing that at the death of Augustus II., the *protégé* of Peter the Great, the Poles would seek to regenerate their country by giving themselves, under the protection of France, a national king, concluded a secret agreement (1732) by which they bound themselves to repel by every means French influence over Poland, a pact which may be regarded as the origin of the projects for the dismemberment of that kingdom. Augustus II. died 1733; the Poles elected Stanislas Leczinski; but two armies,

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Russian and Austrian, placed upon the throne the son of Augustus II. France promised assistance to the Poles, declared war against Austria, and solicited the Porte to avenge the insult which Russia had just given her, by intervening in a country, the independence of which the treaties of Falksen and Constantinople placed under its protection. To the Marquis d'Andrezel had succeeded the Marquis de Villeneuve, a minister full of talent and activity; he had several conferences with the grand vizier, in which he explained to him the situation of Europe, the necessity for the Porte to return to the policy of Charles XII., that is to say, to an alliance with Sweden and Poland, the isolation in which Turkey would soon find herself by the abasement or weakening of those two states. The vizier was moved by those representations; he addressed a protestation to the two imperial courts against the entrance of the Russians into Poland, and demanded with threats the execution of the treaty of Constantinople. But that protestation and those threats were alike sterile, and a year passed without a declaration of war, without even the assembling of an army; the Divan kept in reserve against Persia all the forces of Turkey.

Whereupon Villeneuve, to extricate the Ottoman court from its error, despatched to the Khan of the Tartars, the inveterate enemy of the Russians, an Hungarian gentleman, a refugee in France, the Baron de Tott, adroit and well-informed, who incited him to invade the Ukraine for the enforcement of the tribute which the Russians had formerly paid him. The Khan entered readily into the views of the agent of France, and declared boldly that he would willingly give all he possessed to see the Russians driven out of Poland. But then Augustus II. flung gold lavishly into the Divan; the declaration of war was still delayed, and a prohibition was given the Tartars against entering the Ukraine. The Russians thus found themselves masters in Poland, and Stanislas was driven therefrom. France directed all her efforts against Austria, and incited anew the Porte

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to attack Russia, by pointing out that that enemy was preparing to besiege Azof. The Divan still continued deaf to these instances. The court of Versailles then, to arrive at its ends, employed the offices of a French renegade, the Count de Bonneval, who was during fourteen years the secret soul of the Ottoman policy in its relations with the European cabinets.

The Count de Bonneval.—This adventurer, after having deserted France to serve in the armies of the Emperor, had forsaken Germany and his religion to turn Mussulman, and had become a general of bombardiers, a pacha of two tails, the friend and counsellor of the grand vizier. A body of troops had been confided to him, which he had trained in the European mode, and while attempting to reform the whole of the Ottoman army, the fears of the Sultan and the representations of Russia arrested him in his projects. It was he who revealed to the Porte the secrets of European policy; who made known to it, by memoranda which he addressed to the Sultan, its true interests; who suggested the means of continuing the wars in which it found itself engaged. An implacable enemy of Austria, he could have wished, by the services he rendered France, to obtain his pardon at the court of Versailles; but jealous of its ambassadors, and desirous of keeping to himself every negotiation; going, by a spirit of intrigue, beyond the orders of Cardinal Fleury, he was, whilst continuing to be the pivot of the efforts directed by France against Austria and Russia, more hurtful than useful both to Turkey and to France.

Treaty of Vienna (1735).—Fleury, pursuing his modest and timid policy, intended, in the war which he was carrying on against Austria in favour of Poland, to profit by the diversions which Turkey should undertake, without being constrained to make with her an alliance offensive and defensive; that would arm, he thought, England in favour of Austria, and would thus kindle a general war. That was to follow the example of Louis XIV., without perceiving that the elevation of Russia had changed the necessities of French policy. He had there-

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fore ordered Villeneuve only to incite the Turks to enter Hungary, and he wished Bonneval to support to the utmost that negotiation. But the latter thought that the occasion had arrived for restoring to the Franco-Turkish alliance the character which it had had under Francis I. He therefore sent to the court of Versailles a project of alliance by which France should be bound not to make a separate peace, and not to direct its operations save in concert with the Ottoman court. Fleury, offended at a negotiation which he had not ordered, rejected the alliance, but continued nevertheless to demand a diversion of the Turks in Hungary. Then the Emperor Charles VI., having got intelligence of Bonneval's intrigues, saw his ruin foreboded in the armed alliance between France and the Porte: he therefore hastened to ward off the blow by making Fleury very advantageous offers of peace. The Cardinal, before listening to them, endeavoured to make the Porte comply with his demands; but the latter stood firmly: then France acceded to the proposals of Charles VI., and the treaty of Vienna was concluded (1735).

War with Russia and Austria.—That impolitic treaty was scarcely signed, ere Russia commenced hostilities against the Porte, which was then embarrassed with the Persian war, and enfeebled by the success of Nadir Shah. The Tartars of the Crimea, summoned to Asia, directed their route towards the Caucasus by crossing Muscovite territory. That violation of the frontiers was the pretext advanced by the Russians in order to break the treaty of 1720. The Divan immediately sought the intervention of France. Villeneuve, seeing the war which he had fomented break out, dared not unempowered enter upon peace negotiations. He therefore solicited orders from Versailles, and duly received his instructions.

Fleury had consulted the English minister, pointing out to him the interest Great Britain had in arresting the usurpations of the Russians. But the cabinet of London gave him to understand that a diversion on the part of the court of Versailles in favour of the Turks would bring about a coalition in which England would be forced to

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take part with Austria. The Cardinal then directed Villeneuve to use every exertion to procure peace for the Turks; to prevent, as far as might be possible, the Russians from obtaining the navigation of the Black Sea; in fine, to declare plainly to the Divan that France would not make any diversion in its favour. The grand vizier complained at first to Baron de Tott that France, which three years before wished to arm the Turks against the House of Austria, was exhorting them at that moment to make a disadvantageous peace. The negotiator replied: "We exhorted you to war when the Russians had an army in Poland to support the election of King Augustus, when the Emperor, whom you now menace, was attacked at once by France, Spain, and Sardinia. You might then have hoped for success, and your efforts against the House of Austria might have been as useful to us as to yourselves. At the present time, King Augustus is tranquilly seated upon the throne of Poland; peace is firm between Austria and the confederate powers; the King of France neither wishes nor ought to make his subjects support the weight of a useless war; he owes you only good offices, and he will always render you them. We did advise war, three years since, for the common interests of our empire and yours. To-day, we advise peace solely for your advantage."

This advice, which Villeneuve repeated to the Sultan at Constantinople, was sincere; for the Russians, already masters of Azof, had just seized upon Oczakof and Kilburn. Münich, who commanded them, penetrated into the Steppes, but was compelled to return with great loss. "The Christians of the Ottoman Empire," he wrote to St Petersburg, "look upon the Czarina as their legitimate sovereign; we must profit by their enthusiasm and their hopes, and march on to Constantinople."

Campaign of 1738.—The campaign of 1738 was unfavourable both to the Russians and Austrians, and the imperial army withdrew behind the walls of Semlin and Belgrade. Both powers now began to meditate a separate peace, and Sweden and Persia offered their mediation.

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The Peace of Belgrade (1739).—The events of 1739, however, promised to give a new turn to affairs. Münich crossed the Dniester, stormed and took the Turkish camp at Slawutschane (28th August), and captured Choczim. Then passing the Pruth, he entered Jassy, while the Bejars of Moldavia signified their submission. His intention now was to march on Bender, and in the following year to penetrate into the heart of the Grand Seignior's dominions, when he was arrested by the unwelcome news that a peace had been concluded at Belgrade.

The fortunes of the Austrians this year had been as ill as his own was good. On 23d July they had been totally defeated at Krozka, with a loss of more than 20,000 men, and had abandoned the field in panic flight. The Turks, who compared their victory to that of Mohacs, now laid siege to Belgrade. The imperial cabinet saw no hope of safety except in making a peace by submitting to some losses, and Neuperg was commissioned to treat. The Empress of Russia, against the advice of Ostermann, and at the instigation of her favourite Biron, now Duke of Courland, accepted, in conjunction with Austria, the mediation of France, through Villeneuve, the French ambassador at the Porte. On 1st September 1739, Neuperg signed preliminaries in the Turkish camp, by which he engaged to surrender Belgrade and Sabacz; to evacuate Servia, Austrian Wallachia, and Orsova; and to raze Mehadia, as well as the new works at Belgrade. These preliminaries were guaranteed by France. By the peace concluded between the Porte and Russia on the same day, Azof was assigned to the Russians; but the fortifications were to be razed and the country around it wasted, in order to serve as a boundary between the two nations. Russia was authorised to build fortresses on the Don, and the Porte to do the same on the borders of the Kuban. The fortifications of Tanganrog were not to be restored. Russia was to maintain no fleet either on the Sea of Zabach (or Azof) or on the Black Sea, and her commerce was to be carried on only in Turkish vessels.

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CHAPTER III.

FROM THE PEACE OF BELGRADE TO THE PEACE OF KAINARDJI (1740-1774).

Death of Mahmoud I. (1754).—Turkey had now enjoyed a long interval of tranquillity. Sultan Mahmoud I., who reigned twenty-four years, though not endowed with great abilities, and entirely governed by the ministers who surrounded him, encouraged the arts of peace. He built numerous mosques, founded several schools and professorships, as well as four libraries. He encouraged the art of printing, which had been introduced at Constantinople by an Hungarian renegade; but it had many opponents and made slow progress. By granting the Janissaries an exemption from import duties, he induced a large number of them to engage in commerce, and thus rendered them anxious for the tranquillity of the government. These regulations, however, contributed to break the military spirit of the nation, as was but too manifest in its subsequent struggles with Russia. Mahmoud I. died in his fifty-eighth year (13th December 1754), while returning from Friday prayers. He was succeeded by his brother, Osman III., whose tranquil reign of two years presents nothing of importance. On his death (22d December 1756) Mustapha III., son of Achmet III., then forty-one years of age, became Sultan and Khalif. Mustapha was an accomplished and energetic prince, an astrologer and poet, and deeply religious.

Designs of Catherine II.—The death of Augustus III., King of Poland, the murder of Peter III., Emperor of Russia, and the accession of the ambitious Catherine II., at length compelled the Ottoman Porte to quit its inaction, and to draw closer its alliance with the court of Versailles.

Russian Aggression.—Russia, during the first half of the eighteenth century, had profited by all the events, all the errors, and all the wars of Europe, with a view to

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overthrow the triple obstacle which hindered her from becoming completely European—Turkey, Sweden, and Poland. We have seen what efforts she had already made against Turkey, and what success she had obtained; but the conquest of the Empire of the Osmanli was not the work of a day, and preparation thereto could only be made by the destruction of Poland and Sweden. The latter had only escaped utter ruin by the treaty of Nystadt; it was now the turn of Poland. Already Russia had preluded the subjection of that country by giving it two kings whom she had made her vassals; and, as a finishing stroke, now compelled it to elect a noble of obscure family, an old favourite of Catherine II. —Stanislas Poniatowski—who could only sustain himself upon the throne by Russian bayonets. Moreover, she had imposed upon Poland a code of laws destined to perpetuate the anarchy by which it was weakened and torn asunder through the perpetual dissensions of a turbulent aristocracy; and, finally, she sent an army to invade that distracted country when it rose in arms against such a series of outrages. "The Northern Powers," wrote the French minister, De Choiseul, "seem tied to the car of Catherine; Sweden, by the success of cabals fomented within her own government; the court of Berlin, by the hope of separating Austria from Russia; finally, the English court, through opposition to France." As for the other powers, Austria declared herself neuter, because of the treaty of 1756, but Russia was sure of again finding in her an ally when offered a share of the spoils; France was exhausted by the disasters of the *Seven Years' War;* finally, Turkey was no longer looked upon, save as a victim which must inevitably undergo the fate of Poland. However, the Poles implored the succour of all Europe, chiefly at the hands of Turkey and France, who had both protested against the intervention of the Russians.

Policy of France towards Russia and the Porte.—The natural policy of France was to oppose itself to Russian projects, and in spite of numerous errors she had followed

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it, and was ready to follow it still. But, at that epoch, she was emerging from the humiliation of the *Seven Years' War*, and the paramount aim of the cabinet of Versailles was to avenge itself. Choiseul regarded as inevitable a renewal of the struggle with England, and he found an occasion for it in the troubles of North America, troubles which he fomented, and by the aid of which he desired that France should resume her power on the seas. The affairs of Poland caused him embarrassment, for he saw Russia ready to aggrandise herself; and there was only one policy which could efficaciously hinder her — accord between England and France, an accord impossible to bring about. In fact, England not only refused to aid France in her negotiations on behalf of Poland, but fettered the efforts made for its safety, and even threatened France with a European coalition if she declared herself openly against Russia. In that state of things, there remained to Choiseul no other part to take than to incite the Porte to afford active succour to the Poles. In fact, the French ambassador received orders to urge the Turks to war, by promising them the neutrality of Austria.

Russia, Turkey, and Poland.—The Porte had at first manifested great indifference to the fate of Poland. During the vacancy of the crown, it had contented itself with presenting a moderate note to the Russian resident (12th April 1764), protesting against any interference in the election. When the tumults broke out, Count Vergennes, the French ambassador at the Porte, endeavoured to incite it in favour of the Polish patriots. Catherine II., stimulated by ambition and the desire of aggrandisement, had not confined her views to Poland. She had also cast her eyes on some of the Turkish provinces, and had marked them out for her future prey; but so long as the affairs of Poland remained unsettled, she wished to remain at peace with the Porte, and with this view she had bought with large sums the votes of some of the most influential members of the Divan. Hence, though Mustapha, who had been infamously deceived

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by Catherine in the affairs of Poland, was himself inclined for war, the counsels of his ministers were long undecided. But at the news of the monstrous election of Poniatowski as King of Poland, the Grand Seignior flew into a violent rage, exclaiming, "I will find some way of humbling those infidels!" and his ministers declared that their master was ready to sacrifice everything to avenge himself upon Russia. But the Ottoman power, its armies, its finances, had fallen during twenty-five years into the deepest disorder, so that the Sultan's ardour was destined to speedy extinction, as well from the opposition of his ministers, whom Russia made to believe that the troubles of Poland were merely religious quarrels, as from the impossibility of drawing his people out of the sluggish apathy in which they were plunged. "What can I alone do?" he remarked to the Khan of the Crimea. "All my pachas are effeminate and corrupt. They care for nothing but kiosks, musicians, beautiful slaves. I am labouring to bring about order in the empire, but there is no single person willing to assist me."

The progress of the Russian arms was, however, watched with jealousy and alarm. The incursions of their troops across the borders in pursuit of the Poles, and especially the burning of Balta, a little town on the frontiers of Bessarabia, belonging to the Tartar Khan, by the Russians and Zaporogue Cossacks, excited the anger of the Porte in the highest degree; but it was not till after the taking of Cracow by the Russians that an appeal to arms was finally decided on. The mufti gave his long-expected *fetwa* for war; the grand vizier, who had been an advocate of peace, was deposed; and, though Catherine had made apologies, and promised satisfaction for the damages committed by her troops, the new grand vizier, after upbraiding Obreskoff, the Russian resident, with the treacherous conduct of his mistress in keeping her troops in Poland, caused him to be arrested and confined in the Seven Towers.

The Raid of Krim Girai.—Sultan Mustapha now made vigorous preparations for war, and assembled a numerous

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army. But the time of his declaration was badly chosen. A great part of the Turkish troops were only bound to serve in the summer, and thus six months were spent in inaction, during which the Russians had time to prepare themselves. The Turkish regular troops were no longer very formidable; but the Tartars who inhabited the Crim, and the desolate regions north of the Dnieper and Dniester, even to the Pruth, were numerous and warlike. The Tartars of the Budziac, and the Nogai Tartars, inhabiting the Crimea, were under a khan who was subject to the Sultan. The reigning khan was now deposed, and his predecessor, Krim Girai, who was living in banishment, being a bitter foe to the Russians, was recalled, and commissioned to begin the war with his hordes. Early in 1769, supported by 10,000 spahis and a few hundred Poles, Krim Girai invaded New Servia, where he committed the most terrible devastations, and returned to Bender with 35,000 prisoners. But soon after his return from that expedition, this last of the Tartar heroes was poisoned by his Greek physician Siropolo, an emissary of the Prince of Wallachia.

The main Turkish army, under the grand vizier, Mahommed Emir Pacha, effected little or nothing. The Russians, under Galitzin, were indeed repulsed in two attempts upon Choczim; but Emir Pacha, accused of conducting the war with too little vigour, was recalled, and beheaded at Adrianople. His successor, Moldovandji Ali Pacha, was still more unfortunate. After two or three vain attempts to enter Podolia, the Turks were compelled to make a general retreat; Choczim, abandoned by its garrison, fell into the hands of the Russians (September 20, 1769), who were now enabled to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia, in which last province a strong Russian party had been formed. An attempt made by a Turkish corps to recover Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, in February 1770, was frustrated. Romanzoff, who had succeeded Galitzin as commander of the Russians, after defeating the Turks on the Larga, a tributary of the Pruth, gained a decisive victory over them on the

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banks of the Kaghul (August 1, 1770). After this defeat the Turks fled precipitately, abandoning Ismail as they had done Choczim in the preceding year. By the end of the year the Russians had penetrated into the Crimea. Their arms had also been successful in Asia, where a great part of Armenia, Grusia, Circassia, and Kabardia had been reduced.

Abortive Rising in the Morea (1770).—Voltaire was at this time endeavouring to awaken a spirit of Philhellenism in Frederick of Prussia and Catherine. He urged them to partition Turkey and to restore the Greeks to independence. Frederick, however, avowed that he should prefer the town of Dantzic to the Piræus. His dominions were at too great a distance from Greece to enable him to derive any material advantage from such a project. But with Catherine the case was different. Her views had long been directed towards this quarter, and for some years Russian emissaries had been striving to awaken a spirit of revolt among the Greek Christians in the Morea, the islands, and all the Turkish provinces. The conquest of Greece is said to have been suggested by a Venetian nobleman to Count Alexis Orloff; and in 1769 Orloff had concluded at Pisa a formal treaty with the Mainotes and other tribes of the Morea and of Roumelia. He had engaged to supply them with the necessaries of war, and they had promised to rise so soon as the Russian flag should appear on their coasts. Fleets were prepared at Cronstadt, Archangel, and Revel, which, under his conduct, were to attempt the conquest of Constantinople. The British ministry of that day approved the project, and even signified to the cabinets of Versailles and Madrid that it should regard as an act of hostility any attempt to arrest the progress of the Russian fleet into the Mediterranean. Choiseul, on the contrary, endeavoured, but without effect, to persuade Louis XV. to sink it, as the only method of reviving the credit of France both with the Porte and Europe. The first division of the Russian fleet, consisting only of three ships of war and a few transports, with about 500 men on board, appeared off

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Port Vitolo, near Cape Matapan, towards the end of February 1770. The Mainotes rose, but no plan of a campaign had been arranged, and the whole business degenerated into a sort of marauding expedition. Navarino alone seemed for a time likely to become a permanent conquest; but after some fruitless attempts on Modon and Coron, the Russians took their departure towards the end of May, abandoning the Greeks to their fate. They suffered dreadfully at the hands of the Turks for their temerity, and the Morea became a scene of the most frightful devastation.

Destruction of the Turkish Fleet at Chesmeh (1770).—The Russian fleet, which originally consisted of twelve ships of the line, the same number of frigates, besides smaller vessels, under Admiral Spiridoff, remained in the Mediterranean till 1774; but the only action of any importance that it performed was the burning of the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Chesmeh, near the Gulf of Smyrna, after defeating it off Chios. This victory (July 5, 1770) was wholly due to the British officers serving in the Russian fleet—namely, Admiral Elphinstone, Captain Greig, and Lieutenant Dugdale, though all the honours and emoluments fell to Orloff. Elphinstone now wished to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and sail to Constantinople, but Orloff prevented him.

Collateral Effect of the War.—These successes awakened the jealousy and alarm of the European powers. England recalled her seamen from the Russian service, and proposed her mediation to the Porte, while France offered to supply the Sultan with men-of-war, in consideration of a subsidy. Austria and Prussia, neither of which desired to see Turkey destroyed, were still more interested in the Russo-Turkish war. A collateral effect of the war was to hasten the partition of Poland. There can be no doubt that at the interview at Neustadt between Joseph II. of Austria and Frederick II. of Prussia, the necessity was recognised of setting bounds to the advance of Russian power.

Treaty with Austria (1771).—The Porte, as has been

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said, had in 1770 accepted the mediation of Austria and Prussia. But Russia rejected the interference of any power, and put her terms so high, by insisting on occupying Moldavia and Wallachia for a term of twenty-five years, which, of course, meant permanently, that it was impossible to listen to them. Kaunitz, the Austrian minister, therefore entered into the treaty with the Porte of July 6, 1771, already mentioned, by which Austria was to receive 20,000 purses (10,000,000 piastres, or 11,250,000 gulden), on the score of her warlike preparations, and was also to obtain a portion of Wallachia; while she engaged to assist the Porte in recovering all the conquests of the Russians, and to compel them to evacuate Poland. Russia showed herself so compliant, that the Austrian minister did not think it necessary to ratify the treaty, although he received a good part of the subsidy.

Campaigns against Russia (1771-73).—The campaign of 1771 was unimportant on the Danube; but the Russians, under Dolgorouki, subdued the Crimea, as well as Arabat, Jeniclava, Kertsch, Kaffa, and the Isle of Taman. The war, when renewed in 1773, went in favour of the Turks. The Russians were compelled to recross the Danube, and remain on the defensive.

Death of Mustapha III.—Sultan Mustapha died towards the end of this year (December 24th). His death had little influence on the course of events. His weak brother and successor, Abdul Hamed, then forty-eight years of age, was in the hands of the war party. The ensuing campaign was opened with great pomp by the Turks in April 1774, but they were soon so thoroughly beaten as to be glad of a peace on almost any terms. Never was a celebrated treaty concluded in so short a space of time as that dictated in four hours by Count Romanzoff in his camp at Kutschuk Kainardji in Bulgaria (July 16th), where the Turks were almost entirely surrounded. By this peace the Tartars of the Crimea, Kuban, etc., were declared independent of either empire, and were to enjoy the right of electing their

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Khan from the family of Zinghis; only they were to recognise the Sultan as Khalif and head of their religion. Russia restored to the Tartars all her conquests in the Crimea, etc., retaining only Kertsch and Yenikalé. She also restored to the Porte Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, etc., and the islands of the Archipelago; retaining Kinburn and its territory, Azof, the two Kabordias, but evacuating Georgia and Mingrelia. The Turks, however, abandoned the tribute of young men and women which they had been accustomed to exact from these countries, and they agreed to pay 4,000,000 roubles for the costs of the war. Poland, which had caused the breach between the two empires, was not even named in the treaty.

A year after this peace the Porte ceded to Austria the Bukovina or Red Forest, a district formerly belonging to Transylvania, and which connected that country with the newly-acquired kingdom of Galicia.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE PEACE OF KAINARDJI TO THE PEACE OF JASSY (1774-1792).

Potemkin's Designs against the Crimea.—Potemkin had long set his heart upon a war with Turkey, with the design of seizing the Tartar countries which had been declared independent by the peace of Kutschuk Kainardji. With this view he employed himself in exciting disturbances in the Crimea. He compelled the Porte to restore the Khan Sahim Girai, whom it had deposed, and who was in the Russian interest; and when the Turks assumed a menacing attitude against Sahim, supported him by sending an army under Suvaroff into the Crimea (1778). The Porte on its side had indeed afforded grounds for complaint, and especially it had infringed the

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peace of Kainardji by opposing the passage of Russian vessels from the Archipelago or Ægean Sea, into the Black Sea. The war that seemed imminent was, however, averted by the mediation of France, and a new convention had been executed at Constantinople in March 1779.

After the convention of 1779 further disputes arose between Russia and the Porte, which, however, were amicably terminated, till the final explosion in 1789.

The Empress Catherine's Project of a New Eastern Empire.—Catherine now seemed to have made a step towards realising her project of a new Eastern Empire. She adopted Voltaire's idea of erecting a new Greek kingdom on the coasts of the Black Sea. The recently-acquired possessions received the names of Tauria and Caucasia, and Kherson was erected in the midst of a desert as the capital of the new kingdom, but on a site so ill-chosen that it was soon eclipsed by Odessa. Potemkin, who was honoured with the pompous name of the "Taurian," was made governor-general of the conquered provinces, and Grand Admiral of the Black Sea.

The relations between Russia and the Porte continued to be uneasy. Disputes arose respecting the Turkish government in Georgia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and on other points; whilst the Porte on its side accused the cabinet of St Petersburg of frequent violations of the peace of Kainardji.

Efforts of Catherine II. to drive the Turks from Europe.—The ministry of Louis XVI., in preparing itself for the eventuality of a partition of Turkey, directed not the less its efforts towards enlightening the Turks and arresting the ambition of Russia. But Catherine disquieted herself very little at these efforts; she knew France to be embarrassed in her finances, fermented by the approach of a revolution, undecided in her policy with regard to Turkey. She had just given even more force to the opinion of those who reprobated the Turkish alliance, by signing with France a very advantageous commercial treaty, a treaty which was universally

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Prince Repnin, who had succeeded Romanzoff in the command of the Russian army in the Ukraine, defeated the Turks, who had crossed the Danube at Ismail (20th September 1789). General Platoff, at the head of the Cossacks, took Akerman, at the mouth of the Dniester (13th October); and Potemkin closed the campaign by the capture of Bender (14th November). But the chief hero of the campaign was Loudon, who took the suburbs of Belgrade by storm (30th September), and compelled Osman Pacha and the Turkish garrison to capitulate (8th October); Semendria and Passarowitz surrendered a few days after.

Death of Abdul Hamed and Succession of Selim III. (1789). — Meanwhile Sultan Abdul Hamed had been carried off by a stroke of apoplexy (7th April 1789). His nephew and successor, Selim III., son of the unfortunate Mustapha III., a young prince of twenty-eight years, possessing considerable energy and talent, had resolved to prosecute the war with spirit; and he issued a decree commanding all the "Faithful," between sixteen and sixty years of age, to take up arms. But like some of his predecessors, he acted with more zeal than discretion. Dressed as a sailor, or in other disguises, Selim went alone, by night as well as day, through the streets of Constantinople, entering manufactories, shops, and coffee-houses, and endeavouring to learn the wants and wishes of the people from their own mouths. By such a course, however, he was often led into error. By the revival of obsolete sumptuary laws, and the severity with which he enforced their provisions with respect to apparel, etc., he lost more hearts than he had gained by his apparent zeal for the welfare of his people.

Close Alliance between Prussia and the Porte (1790). — Selim's warlike ardour suspended for awhile the negotiations which the court of Berlin had for some time been carrying on with the Porte with the view of bringing about a peace. In January 1788, Frederick William II. had offered his mediation between Austria and the Porte; but the Emperor rejected it in an angry letter, in which

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he reproached the House of Hohenzollern with their encroachments ever since the days of Albert of Brandenburg. The reverses suffered by the Turkish arms in the campaign of 1789, favoured the renewal of these attempts on the part of Prussia, and a close alliance between that power and the Porte was concluded at Constantinople (31st January 1790). By this treaty Prussia undertook to assist the Porte in the following spring with all her forces.

Peace of Sistovo (1791).—It was not till January 1791 that a congress for the establishment of peace between Austria and the Porte was opened, under the mediation of England, Holland, and Prussia, at Sistovo, a town in Bulgaria. During its progress, the Austrians, raising a distinction between the *status quo de jure* and *de facto*, made some new demands, which they ultimately carried; not, however, in the treaty, but by a separate convention with the Porte, by which the latter ceded Old Orsova and a district on the Unna. The peace of Sistovo and the convention were signed on the same day (4th August 1791).

Russian Victories over the Turks—Siege of Ismail (1790).—Meanwhile the war had continued between Russia and the Porte. The campaign of 1790 began late. Under Potemkin, Suvaroff, and other generals, the Russians captured Kilia Nova (29th October), and two or three other places subsequently surrendered. But the grand feat of the year was the taking of Ismail by assault, by Suvaroff (22d December). This desperate enterprise was not achieved without great loss on the part of the Russians, who stained their victory by the horrible butchery which they committed. The campaign on the Kuban and in the Caucasus was also favourable to the Russians. Several engagements took place at sea. A bloody but indecisive battle was fought near the Gulf of Yenikalé (19th July 1790), and on 9th September Admiral Ouschakoff entirely defeated the Turkish fleet near Sebastopol.

Fortune also favoured the Russian arms in 1791. The

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principal event in the campaign of that year was the defeat of the grand vizier, Yussuf Pacha, by Prince Repnin, near Maczyn (10th July). The victory was chiefly due to General Kutusoff, who commanded the Russian left wing. On the 3d of the same month, General Gudowitsch, with the army of the Caucasus, took Anapa, the key of the Kuban. On 11th August, Admiral Ouschakoff, after a severe engagement, defeated the Turkish fleet off Kara Burium, or the *Black Cape*. But on that day the preliminaries of a peace had been signed at Gallacz.

Catherine II. having refused to accede to the congress of Reichenbach, or to accept the mediation of Prussia with the Porte, Frederick William put a large army on foot; and Great Britain declared to the cabinet of St Petersburg that, whether the mediation of the allied powers were accepted or not, she should demand for the Porte the strict *status quo ante bellum*. In pursuance of this declaration a large fleet, destined for the Baltic, was equipped in the English harbours, and the Dutch were called upon to furnish their contingent. But a war with Russia was very unpopular in England, on account of the lucrative commerce with that country. New propositions were made to Catherine, and, after considerable negotiations, preliminaries were signed (11th August) at Gallacz, between Prince Repnin and the grand vizier. The negotiations for a peace were transferred to Jassy, whither Prince Potemkin hastened from St Petersburg to conduct them. The idea of a peace was very distasteful to Potemkin, who was in hopes of obtaining Moldavia and Wallachia for himself, as an independent principality; nor did he altogether despair of attaining that object by his negotiation. But the sittings of the congress had scarcely begun when he was seized with a malignant fever then raging in those parts; and to which perhaps the agitation of his spirits contributed to give a fatal result. He left Jassy, 15th October, for his favourite residence, Nicholajeff. But he was not permitted to reach it. He died on the road the following day, in the arms of his

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favourite niece, the Countess Branicka. The peace of Jassy was signed 9th January 1792. The Dniester was now established as the boundary between the Russian and Turkish empires, and thus Oczakoff was tacitly assigned to Russia; which power restored to the Porte its other conquests.

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BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE PEACE OF JASSY TO THE ACCESSION OF MAHMOUD II. (1792-1808).

State of Turkey at the Period of the French Revolution.—The situation of the Ottoman Empire was now deplorable. Nearly all the pachas of Asia were no longer bound to the Sultan except by some tributes and formulæ of respect; the Persians and the Kurds menaced the eastern frontiers; the Mamelukes tyrannised over Egypt; Syria was in open revolt; the pachas and peoples of Turkey in Europe appeared to be no better subjected than those of Asia; the anarchy was such, that bands of robbers were formed in the Balkans, Rhodope, and Pindus, which ransomed and ravaged whole provinces: one of those bands having just imposed a heavy contribution upon the second city of the empire, Adrianople. Selim busied himself actively with the repression of all these disorders, and especially with the internal administration of his states, remaining neutral in the gigantic struggle undertaken by the enemies of the French Revolution.

At that epoch, the war of the allied monarchs against the French Revolution had commenced, and the coalition sought to strengthen itself with Turkey. The foreign ministers, and chiefly the representative of England, incited the Divan to break with France, by promising their good offices in inducing Russia to abandon its last conquests. The mission of Descorches, ex-Marquis of

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Sainte Croix, was therefore to combat the representations and solicitations of the coalesced powers. Owing to his persuasion, the Porte, which had, moreover, no interest to enter into the league of the absolute sovereigns, persisted in its neutrality, and continued to extend its protection to the merchants and establishments of France.

But the almost continual defeats sustained by Turkey, the ever increasing disorders of her administration, the ideas of independence which agitated Albania, Servia, Greece, and Syria, the continual revolts of the pachas, led Europe to believe that that empire was approaching its end. That was also the opinion of the French Directory, and of its successful general, Bonaparte: it thought that it was necessary not only to prepare itself to take part in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, but further to take that part in advance, singly, without the concurrence of Russia, and in spite of all Europe. "The re-establishment of French power in the East was," it said, "one of the necessities of our struggle with England."

Plans had formerly been proposed to Choiseul and Louis XVI. for the conquest of Egypt; the Directory discussed them as well as the reports recently made by Lazowski, an officer of engineers, charged with a mission to Turkey. That person did not hesitate to advise the French government to renounce the alliance of the Porte and to appropriate the provinces which were escaping from its domination; he asserted that the Sultan was not in a condition to oppose the smallest obstacle to an enterprise against Egypt, wherein his rule was illusory; that the weakness of the resources of Turkey, the exhaustion of its finances, the vices of its government—all, in short, presaged an approaching fall.

French Expedition against Egypt (1798-99). — The Directory and Bonaparte had conceived their project against the East in the midst of the embarrassments of war; as soon as the peace of Campo Formio was signed, the expedition to Egypt was readily resolved upon. It

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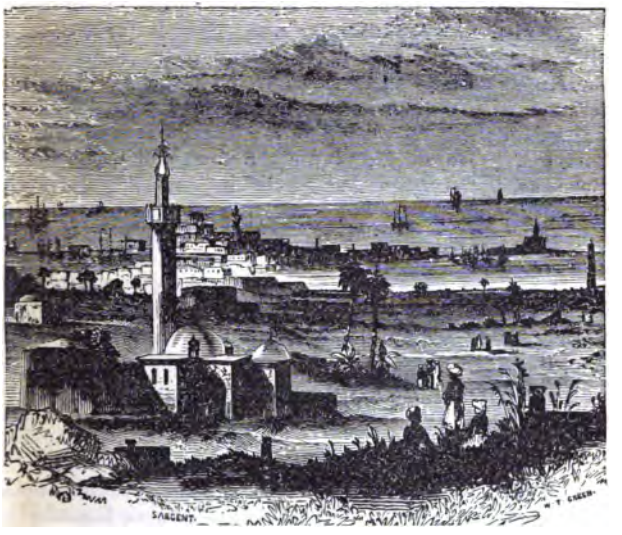
was a great error: the old French government was prepared to take its share of the Ottoman Empire, if it crumbled, but whilst striving to prevent that catastrophe, the new government, in brutally wresting from that empire one of its provinces, precipitated its ruin, broke through an alliance which had survived so many disasters, and in the end brought for the first time angrily in presence of each other, Turks and Frenchmen. Thus political considerations had less share in this determination of the Directory and of Bonaparte than those of a vulgar ambition.

Result of the Expedition to Egypt.—The French expedition to Egypt proved at the outset disastrous for their commerce, for their religious establishments, and their relations with the Porte. In effect, at the news of the landing of the French, the stupefaction of the Divan was extreme, and the English minister, supported by those of Russia and Austria, profited by it to excite Mussulman pride to take vengeance for such an insult. The court of Constantinople hesitated: it expected some explanation from France, and thought itself deceived by the ambassadors of the coalesced powers. As for Ruffin, the French *chargé d'affaires*, he found himself in a most critical position: being without instructions, he tried at first to deny the expedition, then to explain it. France, he said, had sent troops into Egypt, not to destroy, but to affirm the authority of the Grand Seignior against the Mamelukes, who, for more than a century, had not ceased to hinder the commercial relations of France and Egypt, and persecute French merchants. He was not listened to.

Russo-Turkish Alliance.—At the news of the capture of Malta, the Russian fleet at Sebastopol was immediately ordered to prepare to join Nelson; while Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt gave rise to an alliance between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. Sultan Selim III. was naturally exasperated at this unprovoked and treacherous act on the part of the most ancient ally of Turkey. In order to deprecate an anger which he had foreseen, Bonaparte

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had no sooner taken possession of Alexandria, than he instructed the French *chargé d'affaires* at Constantinople to convince the Porte of the firm resolution of the French to live on friendly terms with it. Bonaparte was at this time in hopes that Talleyrand would have accepted the embassy to the Porte, and on his diplomatic skill he relied



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to convince the Sultan and his Divan that the French invasion of Egypt was, in reality, a friendly act; in short, that black was white. But the Bishop of Autun (Talleyrand) was too sagacious to risk on so desperate a cast the chance of being shut up in the Seven Towers, and the embassy was conferred on Ruffin. The conquest of Egypt, however, was only part of the French general's machinations against Turkey. He contemplated nothing less than exciting a revolt in Macedonia, and all the Greek portion of the Turkish Empire; and with that

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view he despatched Lavalette, immediately after the conquest of Malta, to Ali Pacha of Janina; but Ali turned a deaf ear to the proposal. Ruffin was placed in confinement, together with all the members of the legation. The grand vizier and the mufti, suspected of being the accomplices of the French, were deposed from their high dignities, and the former was banished to the Isle of Scio.

Alliance between Russia and Turkey (1799).—An alliance was formed with the court of St Petersburg: the Russian fleet was admitted through the Dardanelles, received with every mark of honour, and visited by the Sultan in person. Outside the Straits it was joined by the Turkish fleet, and for the first, and perhaps the last time, the Russian flag waved in cordial union with the crescent. On the 20th September the combined fleets sailed for the Archipelago, agreeably to instructions from Nelson, under whose command they were placed. They were destined to reduce the Ionian islands, while the English took upon themselves the blockade of Malta. Sultan Selim testified his gratitude to Nelson by presenting him with a magnificent pelisse, and a diamond aigrette taken from his own turban, worth several thousand pounds. Paul also made some valuable presents to the English admiral.

The alliance between the Czar and the Sublime Porte was definitely concluded by the treaty of Constantinople (23d December 1798). The two powers were henceforth to have the same friends and the same enemies, and they mutually guaranteed each other's possessions, including Egypt. Great Britain acceded to this treaty, 5th January 1799.

Russian and Turkish War.—The conquest of Egypt, so perfidiously undertaken by Bonaparte, had roused the indignation of the Turks; his expulsion excited their contempt. France had lost with the Turk the prestige both of friendship and of power. The Porte had, indeed, concluded a peace with Bonaparte as first consul in June 1802; but it refused to acknowledge him as Emperor of the French and King of Italy. But the battle of Auster-

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litz, and the rupture between France and Russia, conveyed at once a strong idea of the military power of the French, and of the utility of their alliance to the Porte. Reciprocal embassies were sent early in 1806, and the Porte consented to give Napoleon the title of *Padischah*, or Emperor. In the summer of that year General Sebastiani was despatched to Constantinople, with in-



CONSTANTINOPLE.

structions to incite Sultan Selim III. against the English and Russians, and to place at his disposal all the resources of France. Sebastiani denounced the perfidy of Russia in keeping possession of the Ionian islands; he insinuated that the French army in Dalmatia would act for or against the Turks according to circumstances; and in a note of 16th September 1806, he called upon the Porte

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to close the Bosphorus against all Russian and English ships of war and transports. At his instance the Sultan deposed the Princes Moruzzi and Ypsilanti, the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, who were attached to Russian interests, and appointed in their places Suzzo and Callimachi, the devoted partisans of France. The Porte was moved to this anti-Russian policy by some causes of complaint which it had against that nation. Questions of maritime right had arisen between the two countries; and the Porte also accused Russia of supporting an insurrection in Servia, which, conducted by George Petrowitsch, had assumed a very formidable character.

The dismissal of the Hospodars was contrary to a convention between Russia and the Porte of 24th September 1802, by which it had been agreed that those princes should be appointed for seven years; and in case they should commit any offence, their conduct was to be submitted, before dismissal, to the Russian court. Here, then, was a clear breach of treaty, which might justify a war; and as Russia had long cast a covetous eye on the Danubian provinces, and, moreover, foresaw that through French artifices a war with Turkey would become inevitable, she resolved to anticipate it. The Porte was summoned to observe her stipulations with respect to Moldavia and Wallachia; to restore order to the latter province, which had been disturbed; to permit the passage of the Dardanelles by Russian ships of war, and to renew its alliance with England. But previously to the delivery of this note, the Hospodars had been restored, the Russian general, Mitchelson, had entered Moldavia, surprised Choczim, occupied Jassy, blockaded Bender, and advanced towards the Danube. On 23d December 1806, a battle took place at Groda, in which the Turks were defeated, and on the 27th Mitchelson entered Bucharest in Wallachia. On the 31st the Porte formally declared war against Russia, and in a few days after notified to foreign powers that the Bosphorus was closed.

War between England and Turkey (1807).—After the

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Turkish declaration of war, Russia demanded the aid of England. This was an embarrassing demand. But the Whig ministry accepted it, nay, though Turkey was an ancient ally, determined to attempt the seizure of part of her dominions. On 25th January 1807, Sir C. Arbuthnot, the English ambassador at Constantinople, accused the Porte of partiality for France, demanded the expulsion of the French ambassador, and threatened an expedition against Constantinople. The Reiss Effendi having denied these accusations and refused the satisfaction demanded, Sir C. Arbuthnot, accompanied by all the English merchants, went on board the "Endymion" frigate, and joined the English squadron off Tenedos. Admiral Sir John Duckworth was summoned with his squadron from Cadiz; and on 19th February he forced the passage of the Dardanelles with nine ships of the line, three frigates, and several fire-ships, and seized and burnt a Turkish squadron at Gallipoli. His appearance before Constantinople filled that city with consternation. He demanded the immediate dismissal of the French ambassador; the renewal of the alliance with England and Russia; free passage of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles for Russian ships of war; the surrender of the Turkish navy, to be kept in an English port till the peace. But he suffered himself to be amused with negotiations, whilst the Turks, directed by Sebastiani and other French officers, put Constantinople into so formidable a posture of defence that he found it prudent to accelerate his retreat; which was effected not without some loss (3d March). After this failure, Duckworth proceeded to Malta and embarked 5000 troops for a *coup de main* upon Egypt, a force wholly inadequate for such a purpose. Alexandria, indeed, was taken, but two attempts on Rosetta failed (30th March, 19th April). The English held Alexandria till 22d September, when they were attacked by Mahommed Ali Pacha, and forced to capitulate. This was another instance in which the force of England was frittered away, which might have been better employed in another quarter.

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Deposition of Selim III. (1807).—Meanwhile a revolution had occurred at Constantinople. Sultan Selim III., an excellent prince, had become unpopular by introducing some reforms, and especially by attempting to substitute regular troops, after the European fashion, in place of the Janissaries. Those latter, incited by the ulema, and led by the mufti in person, rose in insurrection, deposed Selim (30th May 1807), and placed upon the throne his nephew, Mustapha IV., son of the Sultan Abdul Hamed, who, at the time of his father's death, was too young to ascend the throne.

Treaty between England and Turkey (1809).—The Russians had carried on the war without much vigour. The only important action on shore was the defeat of Yussuf Pacha by General Grondowitsch on the river Aspatschaï (18th June). At sea the Turkish fleet under Said Ali was completely defeated off Lemnos by the Russian admiral, Siniavin (1st July). By the peace of Tilsit, Russia agreed to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, and an armistice was concluded at Slobosia (24th August 1807). The English ambassador, Sir Arthur Paget, had acquainted the Porte with the secret articles of Tilsit, and the abandonment of their interests by Napoleon, who had induced them to take up arms, but whom they now beheld the intimate ally of their ancient and most dangerous enemy. These occurrences tended to reconcile the Porte with England. In spite of the hostilities which had occurred, there had been no declaration of war between the two countries, and at length a treaty was effected (5th January 1809). The treaty between Charles II. and Mahommed IV. in 1675, which was very favourable to England, was taken as the basis of it. The navigation of the Black Sea, accorded to the English in 1799, was also confirmed, but no ships of war were to pass the Dardanelles. The armistice between Russia and Turkey was prolonged till 1809, when a fresh war broke out between those powers.

War renewed between Russia and Turkey.—It is unnecessary to enter into details of this war, which began in

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February 1809, and lasted three or four years. The chief operation of the campaign of 1809 was the capture of Ismail by the Russians (26th September), who were at first commanded by Posoroffski and then by Prince Bagration. A bloody battle at Tartaritza (3d November) remained undecided. At the end of 1810 the Russians found themselves masters of the right bank of the Danube, but the grand vizier still held out in his formidable camp at Shumla. A great many places in Servia were also wrested from the Turks by the insurgents of that province, assisted by a Russian force. Early in 1812 the Porte sued for peace; a congress was opened at Bucharest, and a treaty was signed at that place (28th May 1812), in spite of all Napoleon's attempts to dissuade the Sultan from entering into it. The Pruth was now to form the boundary between the two empires, an arrangement by which the Porte abandoned all Bessarabia, with Ismail and Kilia, and about a third part of Moldavia, with the fortresses of Choczim and Bender. But the impending hostilities between France and Russia had probably saved Turkey from dismemberment, or, at all events, from the loss of all Moldavia and Wallachia. An armistice was granted to the Servians.

Mustapha IV. Dethroned (1808)—The Conspiracy of Bairactar.—The Turkish Empire had long been in a declining state. The Sultans were little more than the puppets of the Janissaries. The reforms attempted by Selim III. had terminated in his deposition in 1807, as already stated. His successor, Mustapha IV., had scarcely enjoyed the throne a year when he was also dethroned (28th July 1808), in an insurrection headed by Mustapha Bairactar, Pacha of Rutschuk, who forcibly took the seals from the grand vizier, and having made him prisoner, entered the capital, announcing that peace had been concluded with Russia, and that he was bringing back to the Seraglio the banner of the Prophet. The people joyously accompanied him as far as the first entrance-gate. The Janissaries allowed the conspirators to pass; but the *bostandji-bashi* ordered the entrance

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to the second court to be closed, and declared that it should not be opened without an order from the Sultan. Bairactar, who already thought himself master of the situation, having caused the doors to be battered in, proclaimed Selim, and rushed eagerly within the interior of the palace. But when he had reached the hall of audience, he there found the corpse of his master extended upon the floor. Mustapha had just ordered him to be strangled (28th July 1808). On recovering from the stupefaction into which the sight had thrown him, Bairactar directed that Mustapha should be flung into the same prison which Selim had tenanted; Mahmoud, the half-brother of Mustapha, twenty-three years of age, was proclaimed, and, a few days after, went to gird on the sword of Othman in the mosque of Eyoub.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF MAHMOUD II. TO THE PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE (1808-1829).

Accession of Mahmoud II.—The new Sultan, Mahmoud II., never forgot under what circumstances he had ascended the throne. He had been the confidant of the unfortunate Selim since his deposition, and he was determined that reform should triumph, but knew what obstacles he had to surmount, and only advanced towards his object with the greatest reserve and most profound dissimulation.

The war which broke out again with Russia in 1809 inflicted fresh losses on Turkey, and it would probably have gone hard with her had not the imminence of a war with France induced the Emperor Alexander to grant the Porte moderate conditions.

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Power and Downfall of Bairactar.—Bairactar was made grand vizier, and his first act was to put to death the assassins of Selim and the favourites of Mustapha; he caused, moreover, the majority of the Yamak chiefs, who promoted the insurrection, to be strangled; and finally, he had sewn up in sacks and flung into the Bosphorus 174 women of Mustapha's harem. Then, having become sole master of the government, he resumed the plans of reform attempted by Selim, but carried them out with more prudence. Ere long, however, he offended the high functionaries by depriving them of the *timars*, and appropriated them to his own profit; he menaced the property of the mosques, and put up to auction the offices in the Seraglio; in short, he soon had against him, not only the Janissaries and the ulema, but those who had joined him in the destruction of the Yamaks. An incident gave rise to an insurrection which served to bring back to power the partisans of old abuses and the old *régime*.

Death of Bairactar.—The third day before the end of the Ramazan (14th November 1809), Bairactar, going to pay a visit to the mufti, found one of the streets blocked up by a crowd. He ordered his attendants to disperse it by striking the people with their sticks. That act of brutality became, in the coffee-houses, to which at that time the populace flocked, the occasion of threatening murmurs; groups formed, and the chief ulema, thinking the occasion favourable, repaired to the abode of the aga of the Janissaries, there to concert a rising. The Janissaries set fire to the houses which stood near the grand vizier's palace, and easily dispersed the guards, who did not consider themselves bound to extinguish the flames. Bairactar, startled out of his sleep, lost his senses, took refuge in a tower, and perished therein, suffocated by the conflagration. However, the capudan-pacha, who was devoted to him, ordered two ships that were in port to bring their broadsides to bear facing the abode of the aga, and to fire upon every one who should show themselves there; on the other hand, Kadi Pacha left the

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half of his troops to keep in check Scutari, and penetrated with the rest into the interior of the Seraglio in order to defend the Sultan. The aga of the Janissaries himself came to attack the Seraglio; Kadi Pacha made a sortie at the head of 4000 men, and everywhere repulsed the assailants; but his soldiers having separated in search of pillage, he was obliged to fall back. The conflagration, however, which no one thought of arresting, made rapid progress. Mahmoud, touched at the sight, ordered Kadi Pacha to cease hostilities, and sent a *hatti-cherif* to the aga of the Janissaries, which commanded him to arrest the progress of the fire. The crowd, emboldened by those measures, and by the discovery of Bairactar's body, demanded with furious outcries the deposition of Mahmoud and the heads of his defenders. The Sultan, after having effected the escape of his chief ministers, caused his brother Mustapha IV. to be strangled (17th November 1809), and having thus become inviolable as being the last descendant of Othoman, he showed himself to the crowd, and ordered it to disperse.

Turkey seemed almost in a state of dissolution. The army was disorganised; in Egypt, Mehemet Ali had nearly rendered himself independent; in the provinces the pachas were constantly revolting.

That the Turks should have so long maintained their empire in Europe over peoples so much more numerous than themselves, must perhaps be ascribed to the circumstance that these peoples are composed of various races unfitted to combine in any general political object, and that the Turk is, in force, superior to those over whom he rules. Exclusive of Armenians, Jews, Circassians, gipsies, and Pomoks,[1] the European subjects of the Sultan were composed of four distinct races, speaking different languages, and having different laws and customs, viz., Slavonians, Roumans, Albanians, and Greeks. Of these races the Slavonian, inhabiting Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and Monte-

[1] The Pomoks are Moslems of Christian ancestry.

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negro, amounting to upwards of 7,000,000 souls, was by far the most numerous. But these different Slavonic races were never united amongst themselves. The Montenegrins, in their inaccessible mountains, have preserved from the earliest period a sort of independence which the Servians alone of the remaining tribes have succeeded in achieving. The Rouman or Wallach population, inhabiting the trans-Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and still speaking a bastard Latin dialect, came next in point of number, counting about 4,000,000 souls. The Albanians, or Arnauts, inhabiting the west coast of Turkey, the ancient Epirus, amounted to about 1,500,000. It was among these mountaineers that Ali, Pacha of Janina, established towards the end of the last century a kind of independent rule. But the Greeks, the smallest in point of number of all these races, comprising hardly more than 1,000,000 souls, have alone succeeded, by means of European sympathy, in asserting their entire independence of the Turks.

CHAPTER III.

RETROSPECT OF SERVIAN HISTORY.

SERVIA holding so prominent a position in the complicated "Eastern Question," a rapid retrospect of the part that province has played in Ottoman history appears necessary.

In the tenth century we find the Servians a people who had just embraced the Christian faith, enjoying great but rude notions of prosperity, and a kind of patriarchal government. Their country extended from the Save to the upper part of Macedonia, and from the Danube to the coast of the Adriatic. They had partially

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submitted to the Greek Empire, but retained a great amount of liberty, so much so that the Greeks were determined to curb it, and in the year 1043 made the first great effort to send an army into the Servian mountains, but without success; and the court of Constantinople was obliged to be content with the nominal vassalage of Servia.

In the year 1189 they were anxious to obtain the protection of the German Emperor; they even courted the powerful assistance of Rome, and by Pope Gregory VII. the ruler of Servia was first acknowledged as King. But the Servians had been converted to Christianity by the Greeks, and would not submit themselves to the spiritual care of the Roman Church. They had clergy of their own nationality, and their church services were in the Servian tongue.

But even in the most remote ages the Servians seem to have been devoted to the arts of plotting and intrigue. Their first recorded effort was that made by the Slavonian missionaries, Methodius and Cyrillus, who travelled over the Slave provinces for the purpose of procuring in all the churches the adoption of the Servian language as a national standard. The work performed by these agents is precisely that which in later years has been confirmed and extended by the secret society known as the "Omladina." They knew that by uniting one national religion with one national tongue they created a power which would prove of everlasting importance to the unity of the Slaves. In this they were perfectly successful, especially in the south and along the Danube, and a new generation arose, who were taught to consider that the Servian language formed an integral part of their religion, and that spiritually they were all Servians, even though they might be temporarily divided from the fountain head.

The next effort at intrigue and diplomacy was in 1341. The Servians had for some time previously engaged themselves in fomenting every sort of discord at the court of Constantinople. A pretender had risen to

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some degree of importance: John Cantacuzene aspired to the throne of the Greek Empire, and invited the aid of Douschan, the then King of Servia. The Servians had on several previous occasions given assistance to such disturbers of the peace. They had allied themselves with Andronicus against his elder brother, and when they found his cause was failing, had given refuge to several governors who had fought against their ally.

Cantacuzene and Douschan entered into a bond of brotherhood, a peculiar Servian custom of great antiquity, and most of their respective followers did likewise. But despite all this the two chiefs did not agree. They had promised that all the people they conquered should have the free option of becoming the subjects of Douschan or his ally, but when the latter had gained some considerable success he objected to this treaty, and the allies parted, and before long were the greatest enemies. Cantacuzene even invited the Osmanli from Asia Minor to his assistance, and, though a Christian, thus introduced to his country the vanguard of those who would soon become his masters. Douschan, however, not only held his own, but made great advances towards Bulgaria, and, in order to gain more importance, he styled himself "Emperor of the Roumelians." Some of his coins are still in existence, representing his imperial majesty with a globe, surmounted by a cross, in his hand. Douschan's imperial reign was short, but he raised his country to a position which it has never since enjoyed. A digest of his laws still exists at Belgrade, and is considered a masterpiece of jurisprudence. But the people wanted natural greatness of intellect. They could not follow their great leader in his progress towards civilisation, and he died just when his presence was most required.

The woïwodes, or governors of provinces, quarrelled amongst themselves. The Bosnians determined to form for their separate government a kind of republic. Douschan's widow and sons disputed for his succession; and Servia was once more no longer one strong, well-bound faggot, but a heap of weak and disconnected

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sticks, waiting for any one to take them one by one. So they remained for some years, only succeeding by desperate efforts in keeping off the encroachments of the Osmanli, who, united by the strong bond of the Koran, were slowly but surely approaching.

It was not until the latter part of the fourteenth century that the Christians once more united all their forces together to resist the common foe. In the great battle that ensued, the Servian chief and the Osmanli Sultan were both killed. Their respective successors—the Servian Lasarevitsch and the Sultan Bajazet—became sworn friends; the former gave his sister in marriage to the latter, and Servia consented to become a tributary state to the Turks.

Affairs continued in this state until the death of Lasarevitsch, when the Turks decided upon the total conquest of Servia. The Servians, however, at last resolved that their only chance lay in a union with the Western Powers, and after much indecision such a union was effected; and under the leadership of Brankovitch they not only resisted the advance of the Turks, but by the treaty of Szegedin, the Servians were restored to their former complete independence.

They soon, however, became as impatient as ever of their new friends. The Turkish rule was mild. The Servians were permitted to elect their own bishops and clergy, and enjoyed perfect freedom of worship for nearly three centuries. But in 1689 the ecclesiastics began to plot. The Archbishop Czernovich left Servia on a visit to the Slaves who had emigrated across the frontier into Austria. He sent out agents to confirm the bond of brotherhood which had been established by Methodius and Cyrillus, and which was then merging into the Society of Omladina.

Czernovich joined, with some thousands of Servians, the Emperor Leopold, and every effort was made by the ecclesiastical Servian brotherhood to raise all the Slaves under the sacred banner of their patriarch, but without success. The Bosnians had divided themselves

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between the Roman Church and the doctrines of Islam, and the small number who still retained the Greek faith were of no importance.

The efforts of Leopold and Czernovich were finally fruitless. The small conquests they made had to be restored to the Turks, who were now quite alive to the dangers of the Servian ecclesiastical brotherhood, and determined to curb its power by electing the bishops and placing them under the control of the Greek patriarch of Constantinople; so that before long the chief bishops in Servia were chosen from the Greek Church of Constantinople, and the national Servian Church was completely extinguished about the year 1740.

In the disestablishment of their Church, the Servians suffered a great loss. The chain which bound the clergy together all over the Slave provinces was now divided in many parts by the presence of a Greek, a descendant of the very people whose ecclesiastical supremacy the Servians had so long resisted. Thus it came to pass that the Servian Christians first submitted to the infidel Turks rather than run the risk of being subjected to the Christian Church of Rome, and that at last the Turks made them subject to the Christian Greeks, whom the Servians considered worse than either.

The opinion which the Turks entertained of the schisms in the Christian Church is well put in a letter from the then Ottoman agent in Paris. The letter, from which we take an extract, was dated 1651, and addressed to Nassouff Bassa, of Natolia. After referring to other subjects, he says:

"These western Nazarenes are always quarrelling. They are resolved to do their parts towards the fulfilling of the Mussulman prediction and those of their own prophets. It makes me smile to see these infidels employing their arms against each other and contending about petty rights and possessions, while they neglect the general conservation and defence of Christendom from the impetuous torrents of our invincible armies."

The animosity which existed between Servia and the

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other Christians of the East would seem to have caused her far greater trouble than the rule of the Turks. The Servians accused the Greeks of religious intolerance; they accused the Armenians of temporal oppression by buying civil posts in Servia from the Ottoman Government, and filling the same with Armenian officials, who were worse than Turks. They accused the Bosnians of becoming the most fanatical converts to Islam and the Church of Rome. Thus it was that in the great war of independence on which the Servians entered in the early part of the present century, under Kara George, they found themselves isolated from the other Christians of the Ottoman Empire.

The opening years of the present century found the Servians in perhaps the lowest position they have ever occupied. All their efforts, made with but feeble determination, led to defeats and increased troubles. The whole country was in the hands of the Janissaries, who not only held every military post, but also engaged in commercial pursuits, and almost entirely monopolised all the commerce of the country. Such a reign of terror existed, that it is reported that no Servian dared to ride on horseback; and that, at the approach of a party of Janissaries, only old men and children remained in the villages.

But it was not only in Servia that complaints were made against that powerful force. On the accession of Sultan Selim at the close of last century, as already shown, the opinion was gaining ground at Constantinople that nothing could save the Turks but the entire reorganisation of the whole military system. Foreign officers had been invited to Constantinople as instructors, and great reforms were to be made. The Turks were not altogether convinced that the ideas of the Sultan were quite in accordance with the laws of the Koran, but they did not make any great opposition. When, however, the [illegible] found that they were also to submit to some [illegible]line, and that the Sultan contemplated re[illegible]o their former condition of soldiers of the [illegible] of petty chiefs, the whole body stoutly

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refused; and thus about 130,000 men who had formerly been regarded as defenders—although somewhat unruly defenders—of the empire, almost broke into open revolt. In other parts of Turkey there were malcontents, and, for about the first time in Ottoman history, there was something very much like a civil war among the Turks themselves.

It would occupy many pages to report all the important events which took place about this time. The Janissaries in Belgrade were considered to be about the worst; and Abu Bekir, the new Pacha of Belgrade, took out with him a firman, ordering the Janissaries not only to quit that town, but to leave the entire pachalic. But Abu Bekir found that the chief of the Janissaries, Deli Achmet, had obtained such power that his removal would be no easy work, and was actually afraid to read the firman; and he decided first by subterfuge to rid himself of the chief. Achmet was invited to an audience by the pacha, and on ascending the stairs was shot by one of his servants. Bekir then read the firman, and the Janissaries, having lost their leader, left the place, and for some time the Servians enjoyed comparative prosperity under the rule of Bekir and his successor in office, Hadji Mustapha.

But there was another powerful rebel up in arms against the Porte—one Osman Passvan Oglu. This chief had formerly commanded a large force of volunteers, and performed good service for the Ottoman Government; but when he was no longer required, he collected for himself a large army of disbanded soldiers called Krdschalis, and, being anxious for any sort of military employment, he embraced the cause of the Janissaries and all others who were opposed to the new reforms, and for a long time was engaged in open rebellion to the Porte, and carried his revolt to such an extent, that when he turned towards Servia, the Turkish pacha actually determined to arm the Servian rayahs, and call upon them to fight by the side of his Turkish troops. This was done, and Osman and his forces successfully repulsed.

But the Turks were always opposed to civil war.

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Those of the old school considered it a crime for Mussulmans to fight against one another, and more than all, that those of the true faith should have been driven from Servia, and that, in part, by infidels. So the Janissaries came into the partial favour of the Porte, the Pacha of Belgrade was ordered to re-admit them, and they soon took their revenge, not only upon the Servians, but after a while actually assassinated the Pacha Hadji Mustapha. And although a new pacha was sent to Belgrade, the Janissaries were really the masters. Not content with their own forces, they decided to enlist others, and the Bosnians and Albanians in large numbers came to Belgrade and offered their services to aid in further oppressing the Servians, and these were the most zealous in carrying out any orders of their new masters.

Slaughter of the Servians by the Janissaries.—The Servians had now arrived, as they thought, at the lowest point, and after one more vain attempt they decided to send a petition to the Sultan. The result was that a letter was despatched to the chief of the Janissaries in Belgrade, stating that, unless they desisted from illegal acts, the Sultan would send against them a force of another religion, and entirely annihilate them. This brought about a grand council of the Janissary chiefs, who were at a loss to know what "forces of another religion" the Sultan referred to. At last they decided that it must be his intention once more to arm the Servian rayahs. Having arrived at that conclusion they formed another, and that was that it would be best to kill all the chief men in each Servian district. And this decision was very faithfully carried out.

Historians are not all united on the question of how it was executed. Some say that the Janissaries were their own executioners; others that they passed the sentences, and that the Bosnians and Albanians who had joined the forces were sent to put the chiefs to death. However that may be, it is admitted by all that in February 1804 a general slaughter took place. Every one who was considered as at all likely to lead a revolt was put to death.

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But one man was overlooked, and that, perhaps, the very greatest hero and patriot Servia ever produced—Kara George—who with many others fled to the mountains, for there was a belief that a general slaughter of all the Servians was contemplated by the Janissaries.

Kara George.—George Petrovitsch, better known as Kara George (Black George), was at that time one of the richest and most enterprising men in Servia, although only a breeder of swine. He had served with distinction in the Austrian regiments of Servian volunteers, and afterwards against the Janissaries; and now, with Jauko Katitsch and Vasso Tscharapitsch, set on foot a general rising of all the Servian chiefs who had escaped the massacre of the Janissaries. They called together all the Heyducs, who one and all responded to the war-cry of "Death to the Janissaries."

Servian Reprisals.—The work of reprisal was carried out with all the vengeance of a forlorn hope. Priests donned the dress of the Heyducs, and joined the general fight. Village after village gave way before the Servian invaders. Every Turkish house was burnt to the ground, and every Turk who could not escape was put to the sword. Of all the Servian leaders, none had distinguished himself like Kara George; and before long the Turks were obliged to return to the fortresses, and leave the greater portion of the country to the victorious Servians, who elected Kara George as their chief commander.

Temporary Emancipation of Servia from Turkish Rule.—For some time affairs remained in this condition. France, Turkey, and Russia were engaged in a dangerous game of war and intrigue. The former was about to enter into war with Russia, and sought the aid of Turkey; but Russia and Turkey signed a treaty of peace, in which it was distinctly demanded by the former that Servia was to enjoy perfect freedom from the Turkish rule, except inasmuch as she should remain a tributary state to the Sultan. It is needless to enter into all the terms of this treaty. The Russian troops were recalled from Servia,

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and Russia's demands, as far as they concerned that country, were repudiated. But in 1813 a conference was proposed to take place at Nisch. That was also abortive, and once more the Turks marched into Servia.

There was again the old dissension between the Servian leaders. Kara George wished to concentrate the greater part of his forces in one advantageous place to meet the Turks, but the leader of that neighbourhood was also proprietor of a large property, and did not want it destroyed; so he resisted the orders of Kara George. Amid all these miserable disputes the Turks marched on. The Servians were soon divided into small bands; even Kara George could induce none of his chiefs to aid him, and in October he fled in disgust across the Danube into Austria. Most of the senators did likewise, and Servia was soon restored to the possession of the Turks.

Secret Society of the Hetæria.—In 1816 the first great alliance of all the Slaves was effected, under the secret society known as the Hetæria, a continuation of the old Slavonic religious brotherhoods. They were established in the south of Russia, Bucharest, and even a branch of the society existed in Constantinople. They were anxious to commence operations in Servia, and finding that Milosch had neither the influence nor the courage to lead a new revolution, they invited Kara George to return. Many of the Servian chiefs joined in such invitation, and promised their aid; but Milosch was too much in the hands of the Turks, who regarded him as a powerful ally, to join in the new proposal; besides, he was jealous of Kara George.

Murder of Kara George.—Agents of the Hetæria, however, spread themselves all over Servia, and prepared the way. Kara George returned, and even those who had formerly abused him most were again raised to ardour by the sound of his name. He arrived at Smederova. On the news of his arrival, Milosch decided to use all his force and influence against his old chief, and sent to the Servian governor of that place, to demand either his head or that of Kara George; and before many days Kara

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George was murdered in cold blood while he lay asleep in the house of a Servian chief.

Rule of Milosch.—In November 1817, Milosch was acknowledged as Supreme Knes of all Servia. The Turks still retained possession of all the fortresses, but they permitted Milosch to reign as a sort of tributary chief, his position being simply that of a Christian governor, subjected to the pacha appointed by the Porte. There are those who ascribe to Milosch the improved condition of the Servians. They were certainly not free, but the rule of the Turks, through Milosch, was at first not so harsh; but others, and perhaps more justly, consider that the government of the Porte never intended unfairly to oppress the Servians, and that such oppression was only caused by the Janissaries, who were also opponents of the Porte.

For four years affairs remained in this state. There was constant intrigue between Milosch and the pacha. Other chiefs also sought the aid of the pacha against Milosch, who was daily becoming more and more a tyrant, and thus a general dissension was maintained. In 1824 even the Servian peasants became discontented. They found their condition under the Turco-Servian chief, Milosch, worse than before. At first they appealed to Milosch against many abuses of the minor chiefs, but many were arrested, and undoubtedly subjected to the greatest horrors. In more than one instance, empalement is officially stated to have been resorted to by order of Milosch.

Revolt of the Servian Peasantry.—In the early part of 1825, the peasants rose in great force, this time against Milosch himself, but as that chief knew that he could obtain aid from the Turks, he met the revolution promptly. It was crushed, and a general slaughter of the peasants in the disturbed districts ensued, such as would vie with the worst atrocities of the Janissaries.

Intrigues of the Hetæria with Russia.—The Porte was now sorely pressed in other parts by the intrigues of that society, which, under Russian aid, was foment-

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ing a general insurrection of all the Christian subjects in Turkey; so, on the 26th September 1826, at the instance of Russia, the Porte consented to a convention, and the Servians were promised all their demands. But there was more delay and more skirmishing between the Porte, the Russians, and others. Great events took place; in September 1829, the Porte issued a firman, as a preliminary to the final *hatti-cherif*, which was to give the Servians that independence they had so long hoped for.

From that time until May 1833, the Porte and Russia were arranging the final terms. Russian and Turkish officers at last decided on the boundary line and other subjects of more or less importance. Milosch, who took care that the Servians should believe that all these good things were due to his able management alone, as soon as affairs had almost arrived at a conclusion, called the chiefs together, and, informing them that he had "now performed the mission which had been the hope and aim of his life," requested they would elect a prince. As a matter of course, Milosch Obrenovitsch was chosen, and the Porte confirmed his rank of Prince, with succession to his heirs in European fashion.

In the general opinion of Milosch all agree. He is accused of being "worse than a Turkish pacha," of aiming at the most despotic power. There were continual revolts, till at last, in 1835, he even declared, in his official gazette, that he alone was master in Servia. He evidently considered, however, that his tenure of office was not secure, and that it would be best to make the most of it. He did so, and invested what he made out of the country. Affairs arrived at such a pass, that for once both the Porte and Russia agreed, and Milosch was declared unfit for his position. The Porte had provided that he should rule with the aid of a sort of parliament and senate; but he set them at defiance up to 1838.

In this state of affairs the first English consul found Servia. He did not, however, at first understand the

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people, and opposed the idea of restricting the power of the Prince. The Porte now gave them a charter of constitution, a most interesting document, which clearly defined the Prince's power and the rights of the people in this new state. This charter was sent to Belgrade in the early part of 1839. The nation under its protection at once returned a parliament and senate opposed to the Prince; finding this, he crossed over to Semlin, and from there he plotted an insurrection against the charter of the Porte, and returned in hope to regain his absolute position, but in this he failed. The Servians were for once united, and on the 13th June 1839, Milosch was forced to abdicate in favour of his son. Thus the Porte was shown that the Servians could not yet govern themselves, and that in about thirty years they had assassinated their first prince and patriot, Kara George, and now deposed the second.

Milosch had two sons; the elder, Milan, died shortly after these events, so the second, Michael, was elected Prince, and arrived at Belgrade, after a visit to Constantinople, in March 1840. But there was still discord. Some of the Servians wanted to restore his father, others to retain affairs as they were, and the latter were successful.

About this time Stephen Raditschevitsch, "minister of education and justice," conceived a plan of forming "a society of literary men," a society which has since then gone over to the "Omladina." It was his object to keep up the Servian language and promote its culture over all the Slave provinces. Stephen had been in Austrian employ, and had learned something of the power of societies; but good intentions do not always lead to pleasant places. In 1841 the uncle of Prince Michael headed a conspiracy against him, and that at the instigation of his own mother; and Michael was advised to return to the protection of the Turkish pacha, who still remained in the fortress of Belgrade.

It is not surprising that the Turks should have regarded all this miserable intrigue with interest and even pardon-

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able satisfaction. They had been accused of oppressing Servia; they had given her every chance of governing herself, and now the Servians were doing their best to show the world that they could not do so, and that they actually came to the Turks, their old oppressors, to defend them from more oppression from their fellow-countrymen. After a reign of little over twelve months, Michael was obliged to fly for his life to Semlin.

The Turkish Government behaved with honour. They did not endeavour to take any advantage of the internal troubles of Servia. They only called upon the people to elect a provisional government, and this was done. The Skupschtina met. The Turkish pacha asked who they chose for their new Prince. There was but one answer. All Servia remembered, now too late, Kara George. He had suffered at their hands martyrdom; but he had left a son, Alexander; so Kara Georgevitsch was proclaimed Prince, and the Porte confirmed the choice. Russia and other powers were not, however, satisfied with the hasty change; so they demanded a more mature consideration on the part of Servia. The Porte consented. The Servian senate was again called upon to decide the question, and on the 15th June 1843, they confirmed the appointment of Kara Georgevitsch. This brings the history of Servia to modern times; what advantage they have made of their liberty those who know Servia to-day may judge for themselves.

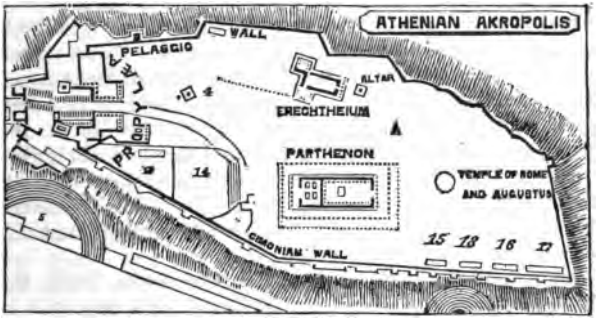
CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE INSURRECTION IN GREECE TO THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO (1821-1827).

Murder of Ali Pacha.—In the spring of 1821, insurrectionary symptoms began to show themselves in the Morea, especially among the Mainotes, as well as in the

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north of the Morea and at Athens, where the inhabitants compelled the Turks to take refuge in the Acropolis. A civil war now began, into the particulars of which it is impracticable to enter. The chief events of the first two or three years were: the promulgation of a new constitution for Greece on New Year's Day 1822; the reduction



ACROPOLIS AT ATHENS.

and murder of Ali Pacha (5th February); the taking of Scio by the Turks in April, when they exercised some abominable cruelties; and the capture of Napoli di Romania by the Greeks (21st December). At this period, Mavrocordato, a phanariot of ancient family, was the principal leader of the revolution. The war continued through 1823, and it was not till the following year that the Western Powers began to interfere. Instead of seizing this opportunity to put down the insurrection by vigorous measures, Sultan Mahmoud treated the Greeks with moderation, in order apparently to deprive Russia of any pretence for intervention. The Emperor Alexander refrained from interfering, though he proposed to the principal European powers, early in 1823, that the Greeks should be placed in the same relation to the Porte as the Danubian principalities, and should be governed by four Hospodars. The European governments, however, were not yet prepared to interfere,

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though in many countries a strong Philhellenistic feeling prevailed. The first active aid for the Greeks came from England. The accession of Canning to the ministry as Foreign Secretary was favourable to their cause, and early in 1824 they obtained in London a loan of £800,000. Lord Byron, an ardent Philhellenist, not content with assisting them from his own resources with money and arms, proceeded to Greece to give them his personal aid. He was accompanied by Colonel Stanhope. But a nearer acquaintance with the Greeks speedily dissipated all classical illusions. Byron died at Missolonghi, 19th April, from vexation, disappointment, and the effects of the climate. Stanhope was cheated and laughed at by the treacherous Odysseus, who seems to have possessed all the slyness of his classical namesake. In December 1824 Canning recognised the Greek Government by sending them a friendly note.

Policy of Nicholas I.—On 1st December 1825, the Russian throne devolved to Nicholas I., and that Czar at first disputed the right of other powers to intermeddle with his policy regarding Turkey, but at length consented to sign a secret convention (4th April 1826), by which he recognised the new Greek state, which was, however, to pay a yearly tribute to the Porte. Turkey was to be compelled to accept this arrangement, to which the accession of the remaining members of the Pentarchy was to be invited.

Destruction of the Janissaries (1826).—It was precisely at this juncture that Turkey was still further weakened by a domestic convulsion. Towards the end of May 1826, Sultan Mahmoud II. issued a *hatti-cherif* for the reform of the Janissaries, which, however, still left them considerable privileges. Nevertheless that licentious soldiery rose in insurrection on the night of the 14th June, and plundered the palaces of three grandees, whom they considered to be the authors of the decree. The riot was continued on the following day. But the Janissaries had neither plan nor leaders; and the Sultan, who had previously assured himself of the support of the ulema, as well as of the

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marine, artillery, and other troops, putting himself at the head of the bands that remained faithful to him, and displaying the banner of the Prophet, surrounded a body of some 20,000 Janissaries, and caused great numbers of them to be shot down by his artillery; and though the rest now offered unconditional submission, Mahmoud refused to accept it, and caused the greater part of them to be executed. The corps of Janissaries was now entirely abolished.

Russian Dictation.—Mahmoud had vanquished his domestic enemies, but by the same act had rendered himself defenceless against external ones, and he now found himself compelled to submit to all the dictates of Russia regarding the points which had been left undecided by the treaty of Bucharest. By the treaty of Akerman (6th October 1826), the Porte consented that the Hospodars, though appointed by the Sultan for a period of seven years, should rule independently with the counsel of a divan, chosen from among the boyars, and should not be deposed without the sanction of the Czar. The Servians were to elect their own princes; the Porte was to restore the districts that were taken from them, and to refrain from interfering in their affairs. Russia was to occupy the east coast of the Black Sea, and her vessels were to have free entrance into all the Turkish waters.

The events of the last year or two had been unfavourable for the Greeks. Mehemet Ali, who cherished hopes of the whole Turkish succession, had, early in 1825, despatched into the Morea an army of 17,000 men under his adopted son, Ibrahim, by whom the Greeks had been defeated, and Navarino taken in May, as well as the little island of Sphagia which lies before it. Hence Ibrahim made incursions into the Morea, but achieved no extensive or lasting conquests till in April 1826, having been joined by the Turkish commander, Redschid Pacha, Missolonghi, after a six months' siege, yielded to their united arms (22d April 1826). The Greeks had now exhausted the loan, and their affairs looked desperate.

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Canning apprehended that Nicholas might come to an understanding with Mehemet Ali to divide Turkey between them, and these fears were shared by the French and Austrian cabinets. All that part of Greece not occupied by Ibrahim had fallen under the influence of Kolokotroni, a mere agent of Russia. In this state of things was concluded the treaty of London of 6th July 1827, which founded the kingdom of Greece. This negotiation was the most important act of Canning's short administration as Premier. He had held that office since April, and expired in the following August.

Battle of Navarino.—The treaty of London was executed by the three maritime powers only, England, France, and Russia; and in August the fleets of these countries, under Admirals Codrington, De Rigny, and Heiden, appeared in the Greek waters to support the treaty. In the harbour of Navarino lay an Egyptian fleet of fifty-one men-of-war and upwards of forty other ships, which were now blockaded by the allied fleets. In consequence of Ibrahim having violated an armistice that had been agreed upon, and to arrest the horrible atrocities which he committed in the adjacent district, the allies entered the harbour and almost totally destroyed the Turco-Egyptian fleet, 26th October. The engagement lasted for five hours, with loss to the latter of sixty-two vessels. After the battle, Codrington sailed to Egypt, and compelled Mehemet Ali to recall Ibrahim.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE PEACE OF ADRIANOPLE.

Nicholas I. declares War against the Porte (1828).—The battle of Navarino, an act of doubtful policy on the part of the Western Powers, naturally enraged the

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Sultan. He declared all treaties at an end, and though he consented to allow the Greeks an amnesty, he altogether rejected the idea of recognising their independence. The ambassadors of the three Powers consequently took their departure from Constantinople, 8th December. To Russia the Porte gave particular cause of offence by refusing to carry out the stipulations of Akerman; and by an offensive firman, issued 20th December. Nicholas in consequence declared war against the Sultan (26th April 1828). France and England remained idle spectators of this war, though a French army, under General Maison, was despatched to occupy the Morea. The Russians, under Wittgenstein, crossed the Pruth in May, captured Braila, 19th June, and Varna, 11th October, but were unable to pass the Balkan. This, however, was effected in the following summer by General Diebitsch, who, having taken Shumla, 11th June, crossed the mountains and appeared before Adrianople, which immediately surrendered. The Russian army in Asia, under Paskiewitsch, had also been successful, and the Porte, believing in the inutility of further resistance, signed the peace of Adrianople, 14th September 1829.

In her second campaign against Turkey, in 1829, Russia invaded Turkey with an army of 150,000 men. Only 14,000 of them reached Adrianople, and these were dying of disease at such a rate that they could neither advance nor retreat; while there were 20,000 Turks between Adrianople and Constantinople, so that Constantinople was perfectly safe. Nevertheless, such tremendous special telegrams, or rather reports, were put forth, the power and number of the Russian army was so enlarged—being stated to be 60,000 or 70,000 men—that the Turks were partly frightened and partly diplomatically screwed into submission, and Russia obtained the treaty of Adrianople and was released from her most perilous position. The stipulations of this treaty were little more than a confirmation of that of Bucharest, except that the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia were to be appointed for life, and no Turks were

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to reside in those principalities. The most important article was that by which the Porte acceded to the provisions of the treaty of London with regard to the Greeks. But two or three years were still to elapse before the final settlement of the Greek kingdom, during which Capodistrias governed in the interest of Russia. He had, however, to contend with conspiracies and insurrections. The little Greek fleet was burnt by Miaulis (30th July 1831), to prevent his using it in Russian interest; and shortly after Capodistrias was assassinated (9th October). He was succeeded in the government by his younger brother Augustine. Meanwhile the ministers of the five Powers at London were endeavouring to establish the Greek kingdom. The proffered crown was declined by Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; but at last, King Louis of Bavaria, whose poetical temperament rendered him an enthusiastic Philhellenist, accepted it for his younger son Otho (7th May 1832). Otho landed at Nauplia (5th February 1833), but it was not till 1st June 1835 that he took the government into his own hands, when he removed his residence to Athens. In the interval the Bavarian Government had had to contend with many difficulties and insurrections, which continued under the new king.

Ibrahim's Campaign in Syria.—Mehemet Ali, not content with the isle of Candia as a reward of his services to the Sultan in Greece, had thrown a covetous eye on Syria. The Porte seemed in no condition to defend that province, and in the autumn of 1831, Mehemet, under pretence of punishing the Pacha of St Jean d'Acre for some affronts, despatched thither his son Ibrahim with an army. Acre did not fall till 27th May 1832. But Ibrahim had betrayed his real design by occupying a great part of the country. After the capture of Acre he proceeded to take Damascus and Tripoli; and having defeated Hussein Pacha, 7th July, whom the Sultan had despatched against him with a large army, he entered Aleppo and Antioch. The grand vizier, Redschid Pacha, who attempted to oppose his progress, was defeated and captured at Konieh (21st December).

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Syria assigned to Mehemet Ali (1833).—The Sultan Mahmoud, trembling for Constantinople itself, now implored the aid of Russia, as well as of England and France. Nicholas having despatched a fleet to Constantinople, the French also sent one, but only to watch that of Russia. Ibrahim continuing to advance, and Mehemet Ali having refused French mediation, the Sultan had no alternative but to throw himself upon the protection of Russia. In April 1833, Nicholas sent 5000 men to Scutari, while another Russian army of 30,000 crossed the Pruth. But an English fleet having appeared and joined the French, the Russians withdrew, and Mehemet submitted to mediation, by which Syria was assigned to him, to be held as a fief of the Porte. Mahmoud, indignant at being thus treated by the Western Powers, threw himself into the arms of Russia, and by the treaty of Hunkiar Skelessi (8th July 1833), agreed not to suffer any but Russian ships to pass the Dardanelles. But on the protest of England and France, the treaty was subsequently modified in favour of those countries in January 1834.

Death of Sultan Mahmoud II.—The Porte, encouraged by England and Russia, attempted in 1839 to recover Syria; but Ibrahim totally defeated the Turkish army at Nisib on the Euphrates (24th June). Sultan Mahmoud, who had experienced little but misfortune during his reign, expired a few days after, leaving his empire to his son, Abdul Medjid, then only seventeen years of age, yet already enervated by premature indulgence. The French now wished the Osmanli sceptre to be transferred to Mehemet Ali, as better qualified than Abdul for the difficult task of maintaining the integrity of the Turkish Empire; but this proposition was opposed by England as well as Russia.

Accession of Abdul Medjid (July 1839).—A lively commotion manifested itself in Constantinople on the subject of the accession, but Khosrew Pacha promptly repressed it, and the first act of the young prince who girded on the sword of Othman in circumstances so

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perilous, was to concentrate authority in his hands by naming Khosrew grand vizier. It was immediately decided that hostilities should cease, and that endeavours should be made to arrange the differences pacifically. The capudan-pacha, Achmet Fewzi, received orders to return to Constantinople. But, as Khosrew was his enemy, he thought that his recall signified an intention of getting rid of him, and he determined to unite himself with Mehemet Ali, and surrender the fleet to the rebellious Viceroy. "Khosrew," he remarked to Admiral Lalande, who was commissioned to prevent a naval collision between the Turks and the Egyptians—"Khosrew has criminally seized upon the dignity of the vizierate; he has sold himself to Russia, and seeks to destroy the friends of Sultan Mahmoud, to recommence war against the Viceroy of Egypt, and thereby furnish Russia with reasons for penetrating into and establishing herself in the Ottoman Empire. I have therefore resolved to enter into concert with Hafiz Pacha and Mehemet Ali, to obtain a cessation of actual warfare, and to form amongst us a confederation which shall put limits to Russian ambition, and bring about the downfall of the intriguers who have just seized upon power." So strong was the opinion of the approaching fall of the House of Othoman that the Turkish fleet, under command of Achmet Fewzi, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the French admiral, set sail for Alexandria. Mehemet Ali was surprised at this defection, but resolved to derive advantage from it, and, when the European consuls advised him to send the fleet back to Constantinople, he replied, "that he would only restore it when he had obtained the hereditary right of his governments, and the dismissal of Khosrew Pacha."

Quarrel between the Porte and Mehemet Ali.—Under these circumstances the Divan resolved (27th July 1839) to give Mehemet hereditary possession of Egypt and Syria, with the exception of the Adana district, reserving to the Porte the administration of the Holy Places; but at the moment when that resolution was about to be put

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into execution, the five great Powers declared in a collective note that they had agreed upon the regulation of the Eastern Question, and they invited the Sultan to decide upon nothing without their concurrence. The Porte declared that it looked for its safety from Europe, and thanked the allies for their intervention.

But the five Powers were anything but in agreement; they had all different interests, and contemplated the solution of the question by divergent ways. Thus, England, Austria, and Prussia demanded that Syria should be restored to the Sultan; France was opposed thereto. Austria suggested the idea of a congress; Russia opposed it. France and England demanded the entrance of their fleets to the Dardanelles; Austria and Russia threatened to retire. England proposed to blockade the Viceroy's ports, but France refused to co-operate in that rigorous action. England next proposed to cover Constantinople with an army composed of contingents of the five Powers; France again refused its adherence. The result of all this discord was that the alliance between France and England, which had maintained peace in Europe since 1830, was on the eve of disruption, to the great delight of the three Northern courts. It must be added that that question of defence and preservation of the Ottoman Empire, traditional and familiar to France, of which we have seen twenty examples in the diplomacy of the old monarchy, was badly understood by the Government of Louis Philippe. In fact, in the view of that Government, the greatest enemy which the Porte had was Russia. Unable to give to Turkey, against that enemy, the strength she no longer possessed, it was necessary to constitute for her a powerful rear-guard in the Pacha of Egypt; and the simultaneous existence of the Sultan and the Pacha was what French diplomacy termed the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire. It was a very confused and complicated policy, for the rear-guard and the main army were enemies, and, whatever might be the arrangement made between them, they must remain enemies. Moreover, that policy might appear double, for all Europe

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believed that France only sought to aggrandise the Pacha in order to increase the influence she had in his states. In short, French diplomacy deceived itself, both as to the strength of the Egyptian establishment, and as to the real interest she had in that establishment. The policy of England was more simple and clear; she wished to substitute for the exclusive protectorate of Russia over the Ottoman Empire, the protectorate of all Europe, and, in order to give strength to that empire, to restore the provinces which had been torn from her by a rebellious Pacha. She desired, moreover, to destroy the influence which France had obtained in Egypt: in short, she disliked the Viceroy of Egypt, who had raised competition in her commerce by his cotton and other products, and who refused to open to her a route to India by the Red Sea or the Euphrates. As for the three Northern Powers, they indeed saw only in the question under discussion a chance of breaking up the Anglo-French alliance, and, to compass that, Russia momentarily sacrificed her own ambitious projects against the Ottoman Empire.

The Four Powers against France.—At this juncture, secret negotiations were entered upon between England and Russia, with a view to solve the question without France, and even against France. Russia made every effort to urge matters onward in that direction, by pointing out the latter as inclined to resume her revolutionary march and the aberrations of the empire. In the end, the four Powers, after having solicited the Government of Louis Philippe to abandon its isolated policy, came to an understanding that they should settle the differences by themselves irrespective of France.

In accordance with such understanding, they signed a treaty with the Porte (15th July 1840), by which the Sultan granted to Mehemet Pacha the hereditary possession of Egypt and the tenure for life of the pachalic of St Jean d'Acre. Finally, if he entirely refused this, he was to be placed in a state of deposition, and pressed to the utmost by the combined forces of the four Powers and of Turkey.

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War against Mehemet Ali.—France, guided by a well-intentioned Government, but which had badly handled the question, made immense preparations, which the coalesced Powers imitated, and she found herself menaced with a general war, through a question of fixing the limits of the territory of a pachalic. England, however, did not alarm herself about these armaments. She summoned Mehemet to evacuate Syria; and on his refusal, Beyrout was attacked by the English fleet, joined by some Austrian and Turkish vessels. Afterwards a corps of 9000 men was landed, and placed itself in communication with the Druses and Maronites, who had long groaned under a heavy taxation, and were eager to rise against the Egyptians. Solyman Pacha, who commanded in Beyrout, soon saw his communications with Ibrahim cut; and the Emir Beschir, having become suspected by his compatriots, was obliged to surrender to the English, who sent him to Malta. On the 8th of October, Solyman Pacha evacuated Beyrout, and went to join Ibrahim, who thereupon beheld desertion spread through his army. Latakia, Tortosa, Tripoli, Seyd, and Tyre, were occupied by the allies, who on the 3d of November laid siege to St Jean d'Acre. After a few hours' bombardment, the arsenal exploded. One-half of the garrison was killed, and the town, half destroyed, surrendered. It was the ruin of Mehemet's hopes, who had accumulated immense resources in that place.

Admiral Napier next presented himself before Alexandria, traced a sad picture before the Pacha of his situation, and wrested from him a treaty, which, exceeding the conditions of pacification indicated before the war, reduced him to the possession of Egypt (27th November 1840). Mehemet hastened to execute it, evacuated Syria, Arabia, Candia, and gave up the Ottoman fleet. That abrupt evacuation proved calamitous to Syria: she fell immediately into anarchy, which proved that the so much decried authority of the Viceroy was not too heavy for that country. As for the Divan, victorious by the arms of her allies, she could have wished to push her

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triumph to the bitter end. A successor had even been assigned to the Pacha; but England compelled it to accept (2d June 1841) the treaty signed by Admiral Napier.

Finally, on the 13th July 1841, a treaty was concluded between the four Powers and France, who thus re-entered the European concert: it guaranteed the closing of the Straits of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus to ships of war of all nations.

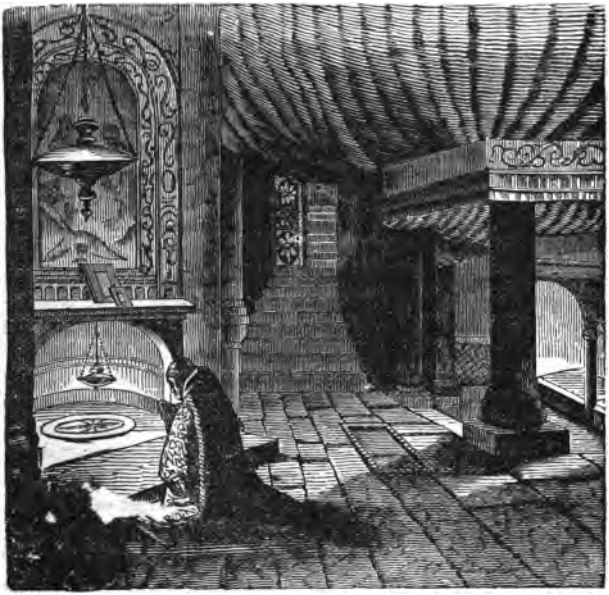
Such was the termination of the quarrel between the Ottoman Porte and the Pacha Mehemet Ali, a quarrel which appeared for some time to assume the aspect of a revolution by which the empire would have been transformed; a quarrel of which the posterior events have demonstrated the mediocre influence and trifling extent that France had in it, and in which she played a part so little worthy of her traditions and her interests.

The young Sultan was after this mostly guided by the counsels of England, ably conducted by Sir Stratford Canning, afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, her ambassador at Constantinople.

The Czar's Design against the "Sick Man."—There was an ancient prophecy that, in the year 1853, when four centuries should have elapsed from the taking of Constantinople, the Turkish Empire would be overthrown. Such prophecies sometimes work their own accomplishment, through the superstitious hopes and fears by which they either excite or depress those who are interested in them. The conjuncture, at all events, appeared to the Russian Emperor Nicholas a favourable one for attempting a long-cherished Muscovite project. The Turkish Empire seemed in a state of irretrievable prostration, and the Czar proposed to the British Government, early in 1853, a partition of the "sick man's" spoils, by which Egypt, and perhaps Candia, was to fall to the share of England. The offer was of course rejected; it was then made to France with the like result, and the two Western nations united to oppose the designs of Nicholas.

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Dispute concerning the Holy Places.—Russia seized the opportunity of a dispute respecting the use and guardianship of the Holy Places at Jerusalem and in Palestine, to pick a quarrel with the Porte. Nicholas, as protector of the Greek Christians in the Holy City, complained that the Porte had, contrary to treaty, allowed undue privileges to the Latin Christians, especially by granting them a key to the Church of the Nativity



CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY.

at Bethlehem; while France, on the other hand, as protector of the Latin Christians, maintained that all that had been done was only in conformity with ancient usage and agreement. Under these circumstances, the Emperor Nicholas, after mustering a Russian fleet at

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Sebastopol, as well as an army of 30,000 men, despatched Prince Menschikoff on a special embassy to Constantinople, to demand the exclusive protection of all members of the Greek Church in Turkey, and the settlement of the question respecting the Holy Places, on terms which would have left the supremacy to the Greeks. Menschikoff purposely delivered his message with marks of the greatest contempt, appearing in full divan in his great coat and dirty boots (5th May 1853). Lord Stratford de Redcliffe and M. de la Cour, the English and French ambassadors, were unfortunately absent; but they returned in April, and on their assurance of vigorous support, the Sultan rejected the Russian demands. Menschikoff, after handing in an *ultimatum* that was disregarded, took his departure, 21st May, with the threat that he had come in his great coat, but would return in his uniform.

As the events of Abdul Medjid's reign have scarcely yet passed into the domain of history, we shall simply give a summary of them up to the treaty of Paris (1856).

Summary.—On the 21st May, a note from M. de Nesselrode, the Russian minister, declared that the Russian armies were about to enter the Danubian Principalities to occupy them until the Porte should give its adhesion to the demands laid down by Prince Menschikoff. "The right claimed by Russia," he said, "resembles that which France has exercised over the Catholics of the Ottoman Empire for centuries; it confers no right of perpetual intermeddling with the internal affairs of that empire."

June 25th.—In presence of these eventualities of war, France and England sent their fleets to Tenedos, under Admirals Hamelin and Dundas, anchoring in Besika Bay, and authorised their ambassadors to summon those fleets to Constantinople for the defence of the Sultan.

July 2d.—The Russians crossed the Pruth, and at once entered Wallachia and Moldavia. The Commander-in-Chief Gortschakoff issued a proclamation in which he protested against any intention of conquest on the part of Russia. The same day, a circular of Nesselrode declared:

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"We occupy the Principalities, not to make offensive war against the Porte, but because the Porte in refusing us the moral guarantee which we have a right to expect, compels us to substitute there provisionally a material guarantee; because the position which England and France have taken up, in the ports and waters of its empire, gives us a reason for establishing the equilibrium of reciprocal positions. The occupation of the Principalities will be only temporary; it will serve us only as a pledge until better counsels have prevailed in the minds of the Sultan's ministers, and the pressure which the attitude of the two powers exercises over them shall have ceased." . . .

The Russians, divided into two corps of about 40,000 men each, commanded by Generals Dauneberg and Lüders, exercised under this holy pretence all manner of plunder and violence in Moldavia and Wallachia, the hospodars of which Principalities fled into Austria. Meanwhile the Turkish army remained on the right bank of the Danube, and the Russians during the summer contented themselves with occupying the left. Nicholas wished to form a triple alliance with the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, but succeeded only in obtaining their neutrality; and he engaged that his troops should not cross the Danube. The court of Berlin displayed as usual servility to the Russian autocrat.

The threats and acts of Russia reawakened the religious fanaticism of the Ottomans. The community of the ulema summoned the Sultan to declare war against Russia or abdicate within the space of four days.

September 14th.—At the demand of the ambassadors of England and France, and with consent of the Sultan, four English and French frigates entered the Dardanelles and cast anchor before Constantinople.

September 25th.—A great national council, composed of religious and laic notabilities, assembled at the Sultan's palace and deliberated upon the renewed demands of Russia, with the modifications which the four great powers of Europe have introduced therein. The unani-

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mous advice of the assembly was that the demands of Russia must be rejected, that the negotiations were exhausted, and that the Sultan must take final measures of defence.

Turkey declares War against Russia (1853).—But a declaration of war by the Porte (4th October), in case the Russians refused to evacuate the Principalities, afforded Nicholas the wished-for opportunity to proclaim himself the party attacked. He did not, however, push the war with a vigour proportioned to his boastful threats.

October 23d.—First sanguinary engagement between the Russians and the Turks. A portion of the Russian flotilla on the Danube, bound for Galatz, is cannonaded by the fortress of Isakcha.

The Russian army was concentrated principally in Little Wallachia. Its plan was to seize upon Widdin, to gain, by means of that city, the high road by Nissa to Constantinople, and thus to turn the Balkans. She could thus incite to insurrection Servia and Thrace, join hands with the Greeks of Macedonia, Thessaly, and the small kingdom of Greece, and so overthrow the Ottoman Empire, and reach without any great obstacle Constantinople. Omar Pacha divined the plan: he seized upon the isles near Widdin, crossed the Danube, occupied Kalafat, and fortified it.

October 28th.—The Prince of Servia, summoned by the Sultan to explain his intentions, declares that he desires to remain neutral and to interdict every armed force, of whatever nation, from traversing his territory. This declaration was favourable to Russia, since the Prince thus hindered the march of troops which the Sultan might draw from Bosnia.

November 2d.—Entry of the Anglo-French fleet into the Bosphorus.

Omar Pacha, in order to divert the Russians from Widdin, crossed the Danube, near Turtukai, and fortified himself in Oltenizza, threatening Bucharest. The Russians, deceived by that demonstration, withdrew their principal forces from Widdin, and attacked, during three

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days, the entrenchments of Oltenizza. During this time, the fortifications raised at Kalafat, in front of Widdin, had become inexpugnable. Omar Pacha then evacuated Oltenizza and retired upon the left bank of the Danube.

November 8*th*.—The Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia having renounced their dignity, the administration of the provinces was confided by the Czar to a Russian general.

November 14*th*.—A portion of the Turkish army having advanced from Kars in Russian Armenia, was beaten at Orbelian, and repulsed beyond Arpatschai. Another portion of the Turkish army was beaten some days after at Akhalzik. On the 27th of the same month, France and England concluded a treaty with the Porte, promising their aid in case Russia would not agree to moderate conditions of peace. But an event which occurred a few days after entirely dissipated all such hopes. Admiral Nachimoff, the Russian commander in the Black Sea, taking advantage of a fog, attacked and destroyed the Turkish fleet under Osman Pacha, while lying at Sinope, not, however, without considerable damage to his own vessels (30th November). As the English and French fleets had passed the Dardanelles in September, and were now at anchor in the Bosphorus, the act of Nachimoff appeared a wilful defiance of the maritime powers. This event excited feelings of great indignation in England, and, as was natural, still more so at Constantinople. It was now evident that the attempts of the Conference, which the four great neutral powers, Austria, France, Great Britain, and Prussia, had assembled in the summer at Vienna, to maintain peace, would be abortive; and indeed their proposals were rejected both by Russia and the Porte; by the latter chiefly because of an article requiring a renewal of the ancient treaties between Turkey and Russia.

The Divan, seeing the impossibility of sufficiently defending the coasts of the Black Sea against the attacks of the Russians, invokes the aid of the allied powers that have their fleets in the Bosphorus.

December 13*th*.—At the news of the disaster of Sinope,

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the French Government declares that the bold and successful blow which Russia has just struck touches not Turkey alone.

December 18th.—The powers in alliance with the Porte had not ceased negotiating to bring about a pacification; their conciliatory propositions were transmitted to the great national council of the Sublime Porte and accepted. After that, authorisation was given to the Sultan's ministers to renew directly with Russia, and under the protection of the four powers, the negotiations for peace, taking as a basis the evacuation of the Principalities as well as the integrity and independence of Turkey. That declaration caused a great irritation among the ulema, who endeavoured to excite an insurrection.

December 24th.—England and France ordered their fleets to enter the Black Sea, to protect therein the territory and flag of Turkey, and to compel Russian vessels quitting Sebastopol to return within that harbour.

December 27th.—A *hatti-cherif* of the Sultan declared that the protectorate of Russia over Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia is abolished. The rights and privileges of those three provinces were confirmed. The Prince of Servia protested against that *hatti-cherif*.

1854. *January 6th to 11th.*—Battle of Litate. The Turks, commanded by Selim Pacha, issued from their entrenchments at Kalafat, and attacked the Russians during four days. The latter were forced to retire upon Radovan. But on the 28th they resumed the offensive, and three army corps, under the command of Gortschakof, commenced the investment of Kalafat. Omar Pacha attempted a diversion by crossing the Danube near Rutschuk, and by attacking Giurgevo (5th February).

In February diplomatic relations were broken off between Russia and the Western Powers, when the latter declared war against the Czar.

Epirus, Etolia, and Acarnania rise against the Turks; the insurgents seized upon Larta and attacked the citadel. Thessaly rose in its turn.

The kingdom of Greece was in the greatest fermenta-

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tion. Bands of volunteers, commanded by Greek officers, propagated the insurrection everywhere. The Greek Government sustained them and made preparations for war.

The Divan demanded explanations from the court at Athens. It was answered that the movement which manifested itself was the result of the patriotic and religious sentiments of the Greek population, and that



SEBASTOPOL FROM THE SEA.

every government ought to treat with care and respect such sentiments.

February 16*th*.—England and France declared that, in case the Greek Government should favour the insurrection, they would place the kingdom of Greece in a state of blockade.

February 21*st*.—Manifesto of the Emperor of Russia to his subjects: Against Russia fighting for the orthodox

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faith, England and France place themselves beside the enemies of Christianity; but Russia is ready to make head against all her enemies. "We are yet," he says, "the Russian people of 1812."

February 22d.—A first division of English troops embarks for the East.

February 27th.—England and France addressed to Russia the injunction to evacuate the Principalities within a given time, and notified to her that refusal or silence would be considered as a declaration of war.

March 4th.—The Turks crossed the Danube above Silistria, and attacked the Russian entrenchments at Kalarach; they were repulsed.

March 12th.—Treaty between Great Britain, France, and Turkey: (1.) France and Great Britain engage to defend Turkey by arms until the conclusion of a peace, guaranteeing the independence of the Ottoman Empire and the rights of the Sultan. (2.) The Porte engages to modify the institutions of the empire, in such manner that there be equality before the law and admissibility to all employments for every Ottoman subject, without distinction of religion; right of testimony before the tribunals accorded to Christians; establishment of mixed tribunals throughout the empire; abolition of the *karatsch*.

Austria contented herself with placing a corps of observation on the Servian frontiers, while Prussia, though recognising the injustice of the Russian proceedings, declined to oppose them.

March 14th.—Agitation throughout Greece in favour of the insurgents; a Greek officer, Tzavellas, is proclaimed at Larta generalissimo of the Hellenes. Russia declared that she would have no part in this movement, but that she would never consent that the insurgent populations should be again forced under the Ottoman yoke.

March 19th.—The French army of the East, under the command of Marshal St Arnaud, left Marseilles, and arrived at Gallipoli on the 31st. After having fortified that city, it proceeded to Constantinople, and thence to Varna.

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March 23*d*.—The Russians crossed the Danube at Galatz, at Braïla, and at Ismaïl; they seized upon several towns, and occupied all the north of the Dobruscha.

March 24*th*.—The Turks, who had crossed to the left shore of the Danube, were, after a murderous struggle, compelled to retire upon Turtukaï.

April 14*th*.—The Russians commenced the siege of Silistria. On the other hand, they abandoned the investment of Kalafat, and retired upon the Alouta.

April 21*st*.—An Anglo-French fleet appeared before Odessa, and bombarded the city during ten hours.

April 22*d*.—England and France declared to the Greek Government that they would use every means to make respected the resolution they had taken to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. If, in order to realise that resolution, the throne of Greece should be overthrown, the responsibility of it would fall upon those who have converted to enmity the friendly relations of England and France.

May 5*th*.—A division of French troops occupied Athens and the Piræus. Greece was declared in a state of blockade. The king promised to preserve neutrality.

May 30*th*.—The Turks defeated the Russians at Karakal, and pursued them as far as the Alouta.

June 3*d*.—The summons of Austria to Russia to evacuate the Danubian provinces. It was agreed with the Porte that, until the conclusion of peace, those provinces should be occupied by Austrian troops.

June 26*th*.—Raising of the siege of Silistria by the Russians.

July 2*d to* 8*th*.—Fight between the Russians and Turks near Giurgevo; the former were thoroughly defeated; the latter occupied Giurgevo and Oltenizza.

July 31*st*.—The Russians evacuated Wallachia and Moldavia, which were occupied by Austrian troops.

September 14*th*.—French, English, and Turkish troops embarked from Varna and Baltschik on board 250 vessels, and landed upon the western coast of the Crimea, near the old fort, eight leagues north of Sebastopol. The

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allies (25,000 French, 25,000 English, and 8000 Turks) occupy the town of Eupatoria, in the Crimea (14th September 1854). Nachimoff, the victor of Sinope, though he had fifty-four Russian ships at Sebastopol, ventured not to come out and attack the allied armament. The forces of Prince Menschikoff were inferior to those of the allies; but he had taken up a position on the river Alma which he deemed impregnable, and in his overweening confidence had invited a party of ladies from Sebastopol to come and behold the destruction of the enemy. But the position was carried by the indomitable courage of the allies (20th September), not, however, without great loss, the British suffering most severely from having to assault the position in front; while the French, under Marshal St Arnaud, turned the enemy's left wing. The allied loss amounted to 3479 men, of which nearly three-fifths belonged to the British, although their troops were not nearly so numerous as the French. The Russian loss was estimated at about 8000 men.

A necessary delay to bury the dead and provide for the sick and wounded deprived the allies of the opportunity to penetrate along with the enemy into Sebastopol. It was not judged practicable to take it by assault, though this might perhaps have been accomplished had it been immediately undertaken, and a siege in regular form became therefore necessary.

September 29th.—Death of Marshal St Arnaud, who was succeeded by General Canrobert.

October 9th.—The English army now took up a position at the Bay of Balaclava, the French at that of Kamiesch, and began to open trenches on the plateau on the south side of Sebastopol. The allies opened their fire on the town with 200 guns, October 17th. Sebastopol was also bombarded by the fleets, which, however, suffered so severely that they were compelled to desist. The Russians attacked the English position at Balaclava, October 25th, but were repulsed—a battle rendered memorable by the gallant but rash and fatal charge of the British cavalry, when, by some mistake in the delivery of orders, nearly

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two-thirds of the Light Brigade were uselessly sacrificed.

This battle was soon followed by that of Inkermann (November 5th), when the Russians, with very superior forces, and in the presence of the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, again attacked the British position, and were once more repulsed with dreadful loss. The British, taken by surprise, were most gallantly supported by their French allies. At the same time the garrison made a sortie and attacked the left wing of the besiegers, but was equally repulsed. The allies lost 4000 men, the Russians 10,000.

December 2d.—Treaty of alliance between France, Austria, and Great Britain: (1.) The three powers mutually engaged to enter into no arrangement with the court of Russia before having deliberated in common; (2.) Austria engaged to defend the frontiers of the principalities occupied by her against any return of the Russian forces, and to offer no prejudice to the free movement of the allied armies on the same territory; (3.) Hostilities having just broken out between Austria and Russia, Austria contracted with the Western Powers an alliance offensive and defensive.

1855. *January 15th.*—The Russian ports of the Black Sea and in the Sea of Azof were placed in a state of blockade by the French and English fleets.

January 26th.—Treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Western Powers and the King of Sardinia. That prince sent to the Crimea an auxiliary force of 15,000 men under General Marmora.

The allied armies had passed a most dreadful winter in their encampments. The British soldiers especially died by hundreds of cold, disease, and privation, while the clothing, stores, and medicines, which might have averted these calamities, were, through the almost incredible bungling and mismanagement of the commissariat department, lying unpacked at Balaclava. The just and violent indignation felt in England at this state of things produced the fall of the Aberdeen ministry in February 1855.

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February 16*th.*—Twenty-five thousand Russians attacked Eupatoria, and were repulsed by the Turks under Omar Pacha.

March 2*d.*—The sudden and unexpected death of the Emperor of Russia, Nicholas I., seemed to open a prospect for peace. Alexander II., his son, succeeded him, but his first words were not favourable to peace: "The object of our efforts will be that towards which Peter I., the Empress Catherine, Alexander, and our father of glorious memory tended." However, a few days after, negotiations were opened at Vienna, between all the belligerent powers, and upon the following bases: "(1.) The Danubian principalities and Servia are freed from the Russian protectorate, and placed under the collective protectorate of the great powers; (2.) The navigation of the Danube shall be free; (3.) The Russian power shall be restrained in the Black Sea; (4.) The Christians, subjects of the Porte, shall be placed upon an entire footing of equality with Mussulmans." The conferences lasted until the 26th of April, and without result.

May 16*th.*—General Canrobert quitted the command of the French army in the Crimea, and was replaced by General Pelissier.

June 6*th.*—The allies opened a fresh bombardment against Sebastopol, and carried the outworks called the Carenage and the Mamelon Vert.

June 18*th.*—The allies attempted an assault upon the Great Redan and the Malakof Tower; they were repulsed with the loss of 4000 men.

June 28*th.*—Death of Lord Raglan, Commander-in-Chief of the English army before Sebastopol.

During this campaign, Admiral Napier, with the British fleet, accompanied by a French squadron, proceeded into the Baltic, where, however, little was effected. Cronstadt was found too strong to be attacked; the Russian fleet kept in port, and the British admiral was forced to content himself with capturing some merchant vessels and burning timber and other stores. Some English ships also penetrated into the White Sea, blockaded

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Archangel, and destroyed the port of Kola. A detachment of French troops under General Baraguay d'Hilliers captured Bomarsund in the Aland Isles (August 15th); after which exploit the allied fleet quitted the Baltic.

August 16*th.*—The battle of Traktir. Sixty thousand Russians, commanded by Gortschakof and Liprandi, attacked the lines of the allies upon the Tchernaïa; but they were repulsed by the French and Piedmontese with the loss of 6000.

September 8*th.*—After having bombarded Sebastopol during three days, the allies made a general attack upon the Russian entrenchments. The English attack upon the Great Redan and that of the French upon the central bastion failed; but the Malakof Tower, the capital position of the Russians, was carried by assault by the French after a terrible struggle. The allies lost nearly 10,000 men and the Russians 12,000. The latter evacuated the south portion of the city, after burning or blowing it up, and they retreated by means of a bridge of boats into the north portion.

September 29*th.*—The Russians attacked Kars, and, after a struggle of seven hours, were repulsed by the Turks with a loss of 7000 men.

October 17*th.*—The allies attacked the fortress of Kinbourn, and took it after a bombardment of several hours.

November 6*th.*—The Turks, commanded by Omar Pacha, forced the passage of the Ingur, in Mingrelia, and carried the Russian entrenchments.

November 28*th.*—The city of Kars, defended by the Turks under the English general, Williams, capitulated.

1856. *January* 16*th.*—Negotiations for peace were continued between Russia and Austria. The latter sent to the courts of the Western Powers an ultimatum containing the following conditions: "Abolition of the Russian protectorate in the Danubian provinces, and rectification of their frontier to the detriment of Russia, which abandons the mouth of the Danube; neutralisation of the Black Sea, the waters of which are to be interdicted to ships of

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war; conservation of the immunities of the Christian populations subject to the Porte, etc." After some discussion, Russia declared that she accepted purely and simply the said propositions.

February 1st.—The plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Turkey, met at Vienna, and signed the preliminaries of peace.

March 30th.—A treaty of peace concluded at Paris between France, Great Britain, Sardinia, and the Sublime Porte on the one part, and Russia on the other part, and conjointly with Austria and Prussia. Articles 7 and 8: "The Sublime Porte is admitted to the advantages of public rights and European concert; *the Powers bind themselves to respect and guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.*"

CHAPTER VI.

DISORDERS AND INSURRECTIONS IN THE TRIBUTARY PROVINCES.

Fanaticism at Jeddah.—In June 1858, an outburst of fanatical fury amongst the Mahommedan population of Jeddah, on the east shore of the Red Sea, having cost the lives of a great number of Christians, the British and French Governments lost no time in exacting ample reparation for the outrage. They called upon the Sultan to issue orders for the punishment of the guilty, and a special commission was sent by the Turkish Government with troops to Jeddah to see that the order was carried into full effect.

Massacre of Christians in Syria (1860).—Frightful atrocities were committed this year (1860) in Syria, where a vast number of the Maronite Christians were massacred by the Druses. The animosity between these

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religionists was bitter and of long standing, nor is it easy to determine with whom the blame rests of giving the first provocation which led to the deplorable catastrophe.

Danubian Principalities (1864).—A revolution in Moldavia and Wallachia having brought about the abdication of Prince Couza, the Chambers met, and their first act was to proclaim as Prince of Roumania the Count of Flanders, the brother of the King of the Belgians, but he declined to accept the proffered throne. They then turned to Prince Charles of Hohenzollern, a cousin of the King of Prussia, and the question of his election as hospodar was submitted to the votes of the population. The result of this appeal to the people was that he was chosen hospodar, and the election was afterwards recognised by the Porte as well as by the other European powers.

Differences between the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt (1869).—The Viceroy of Egypt having paid a visit to Europe, was received at the different courts with something of the respect and state usually reserved for crowned heads. This gave offence to the Sultan and Turkish Government, for in reality the Viceroy is only a satrap of the Ottoman Porte, enjoying the peculiar title of Kedive, which, whatever may be its precise import in Turkey, does not invest its possessor with a royal character. The Sultan was also offended at the invitations issued to foreign monarchs to be present at the forthcoming opening of the Suez Canal, which his Majesty thought was an infringement on his imperial prerogative. He was also alarmed at other tokens of independence on the part of the Egyptian Viceroy, and in consequence a letter was addressed by the Turkish minister to the Viceroy, which contained a statement of the grievances alleged against him, and which he answered in a long despatch. Ultimately, through diplomatic interference, the matter was settled by the acceptance, on the part of the Viceroy, of the conditions insisted on by the Porte.

Changes in Turkish Policy.—In 1871, in connection with the Black Sea treaty, a certain change in the spirit

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of Turkish policy was observable. In the semi-official organ, the *Turquie*, of Constantinople, it was said that Turkey had made friends with her traditional enemy Russia, though she had done this "far more because she fears a conflict in which she would be without effective allies than because she trusts in the friendly intentions of the Russian Government." It was added that the same conviction of the impossibility of maintaining herself unaided in Europe had prompted her to take up "the idea of Islamite unity, and of the restoration of the old khalifate in Asia and Africa."

The death of the grand vizier, Ali Pacha, in the summer (1871), was followed by a period of ministerial confusion. Mahmoud Pacha became grand vizier, but Ahmed Vefik Effendi attained to the highest place in the Sultan's confidence.

In the month of July 1872, the grand vizier, Mahmoud Pacha, fell into disgrace, and was made to resign office in favour of Midhat Pacha, governor of Bagdad. Midhat represented Austrian influence. But Midhat's sway was short. It was said that he would not, like his predecessor, lay the savings of the state treasury at the Sultan's disposal. Rudschi Pacha was appointed grand vizier in his place. The true key of Turkish politics this year seems to be discoverable in two *motifs:* the Sultan's wish to alter the succession, and the influence which the Russian ambassador, General Ignatieff, had succeeded in establishing over his councils. With regard to the succession, the Sultan's eager desire was to get his own eldest son, Youssouf Izeddin, declared his heir, in conformity with the usual European system, instead of Murad Effendi, the eldest son of his brother, the late Sultan Abdul Medjid, who, having been born under his father's reign, had, according to Turkish law, a prior claim to a cousin born before *his* father had ascended the throne. The policy of Russia was to favour the Sultan's wishes in this respect, through the ministry of those grand viziers with whom General Ignatieff had established an *entente cordiale.*

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In Turkey some ministerial changes occurred in 1873, which are scarcely worth recording. A dispute with Austria on the subject of the Bosnian Christians threatened at one time serious complications, but a mutual understanding was arrived at by both parties, and Europe was saved a revival of the ever-impending "Eastern Question."

According to a letter from Bucharest, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, says a journalist writing on 9th October 1874, "Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, have now adopted a pacific attitude towards Turkey. This is partly attributable to the representations of Prince Bismarck and Count Andrassy, who warned the Principalities that while they would support them in any reasonable claims, the peace of Europe must not be endangered by premature projects and demonstrations. The Roumanian ministers were wise enough to profit by this advice.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ATTITUDE OF RUSSIA TOWARDS TURKEY IN 1876-1877.

The Eastern Question (1876).—No intelligent observer of events had failed to watch with interest the attitude of the Continental powers towards the great problem of 1876. As the year went on, however, all other subjects faded into insignificance compared with the questions springing out of the momentous conflict then being waged in the east of Europe. The Andrassy note, so famous in its time, was received in London 30th Decem ber 1875; but it was not until a fortnight later that a qualified acceptance of it was given in by the English Government. The decision of the Government was very generally approved, for nothing had then occurred tc arouse party feelings and to range Englishmen on the

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side of this or that state without regard to English interests. The formidable nature of the question that was opened up and the dangers it involved for all who were in any way interested in Turkey were properly borne in mind. Soon, however, it became evident that the Andrassy note, though accepted by the Porte as well as by England, was doomed to failure, and the attention of Europe was arrested by the meeting of the Emperors at Berlin. The Berlin memorandum was then concocted, and the assent of the three remaining great powers was demanded by telegraph. England, however, refused to submit to such dictation, and the ministers of Russia and Germany found themselves checkmated.

Attitude of Russia (1876-77).—The conduct of Russia has set at defiance all rules of international law, and there is no other power in the world which would have refrained for a whole year from openly resenting the outrageous and unblushing acts of war in which Russia has indulged against Turkish territory, whilst yet a Russian ambassador dwelt and intrigued at the Golden Horn. It is unnecessary to do more than to allude to the incidents of the Servian war, in which an attack was commenced upon Turkey by one of its own vassals, first at the instigation, and then with the open co-operation of Russia, followed by the utter discomfiture of the Servians and their more enterprising allies. Turkey, however, was forbidden to reap the natural fruits of victory, and, though the road had been opened to Belgrade by the splendid valour of its troops, it was bidden to halt.

Deposition and Suicide of Sultan Abdul Aziz.—The deposition and suicide of Abdul Aziz, the brief ten days' reign of Murad V., the instalment in the chair of the Prophet of Abdul Hamid, the murderous and too successful attack made upon the Sultan's chief ministers—these and other incidents of an almost equally painful character have conspired with civil insurrection and foreign war to render the year one of peculiar trial to Turkey. The Sublime Porte has mustered large and not ill-equipped armies in Asia as in Europe; and on the sea it is

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thought that Turkey would prove more than a match for circular Russian ironclads. A constitution, consisting of comprehensive clauses, the work of Midhat Pacha, the late grand vizier (whose sudden dismissal and exile quickly followed upon the breaking up of the conference), has been proclaimed for all the subjects of the Sultan; and the question practically at issue is, whether Europe shall wait and see whether this new and vaunted medicine will cure the political ills of Turkey, or whether Russia shall be allowed to scout the promise of institutions she could not herself venture to grant, and compel Turkey to fight for its existence.

The New Constitution for Turkey.—The scheme of reform agreed to by the diplomatists in the European Conference at Constantinople, including General Ignatieff and Lord Salisbury, when submitted to the Sultan, was rejected on the plea that the New Constitution afforded a guarantee for the better government of Turkey, as it contained all kinds of representative machinery, for the empire, for the provinces, for the commune, all at the same time.

The Conference.—On the re-opening of Parliament in February 1877, Lord Derby, in defending the ministerial policy of the British Cabinet, justified the rejection of the Berlin memorandum, on the ground that, if it had been accepted, England would have been bound to take part in a joint military occupation. As an alternative, therefore, the Conference was proposed, and although it has not done all that was desired, it gave at least time for consideration, enabling the powers to ascertain what Russia sought, and what the Porte would be willing to concede.

Meanwhile Russia has mobilised a large army, moved it into Bessarabia, and continues to make preparations for war on an extensive scale. The chances of peace and war in Europe are therefore just now trembling in the balance; and unhappily the scale of war threatens ominously to preponderate (April 1877).

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APPENDIX.

AREA AND POPULATION—VARIOUS RACES.

THE area and population of Turkey are known only by estimates, and not as the result of exact measurement, and of a general census. Official estimates of the extent of the empire and the numbers of the population were published in 1844 and in 1856, but it is generally admitted that they cannot lay claim to any degree of exactness. According to these official statements, the population of Turkey in Europe numbered 15,500,000, but recent researches, notably those of M. Vladimir Iakschitj, Director of the Statistical Department of Servia, have shown that this estimate was greatly exaggerated, the population being barely 8,400,000 in Turkey proper, exclusive of the tributary states, and not much above 13,000,000, inclusive of the latter countries, which do not really form part of the Ottoman Empire; such as, for instance, Moldavia and Wallachia (or *Roumania*), so long tyrannised over by Turkey and coveted by Russia, which have been very recently reconstituted, under the protection of the Great European Powers, and with the name of the United Principalities, into two states, which only form one in reality, and are rather tributaries than dependencies of the Ottoman Empire.

The following estimate of the area and population of the empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa, embodies the latest and most generally accepted statistical researches:

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Geographical Divisions.	Area: English square miles.	Population.	Average population per square mile.
Turkey in Europe, .	138,264	8,315,000	60
Turkey in Asia, . .	660,870	16,050,000	24
Turkey in Africa, .	943,740	3,800,000	4
Total, .	1,742,874	28,165,000	16

The following table gives, after the estimates of M. Vladimir Iakschitj, the area and population of each of the eight vilayets or provinces of European Turkey, exclusive of the tributary states, with the average population per square mile:

Vilayets.	Area: English square miles.	Population.	Average population per square mile.
Constantinople, .. Edirné (Adrianople),	25,788	1,682,517	65
Tuna (Danube), . .	32,655	1,994,827	61
Selanik (Salonica), .	19,698	1,028,141	52
Jania (Janina), . .	13,692	711,260	51
Prisren (Roumelia), .	20,055	1,340,471	66
Bosna (Bosnia), . .	23,100	1,357,984	58
Kirid (Crete), . .	3,276	200,000	61
Total, .	138,264	8,315,000	60

Turkey in Asia is divided into seventeen vilayets, but the extent and population of these administrative divisions are entirely unknown. The total population of 16,050,000, assigned in official estimates to Asiatic Turkey, is probably also a large over-statement. Equally unreliable are the estimates of the area and population of Turkey in Africa.

The various races of which the population of the

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empire in Europe, Asia, and Africa is composed, are thus classified in the most recent statistical estimates:

	Europe.	Asia.	Africa.	Total.
Turks or Ottomans,	1,000,000	10,700,000	.....	11,700,000
Greeks,	900,000	1,000,000	.....	1,900,000
Armenians,	200,000	2,000,000	.....	2,200,000
Jews,	70,000	80,000	.....	150,000
Slavonians,	4,000,000	.....	.....	4,000,000
Albanians,	820,000	.....	.....	820,000
Tartars,	11,000	20,000	.....	31,000
Arabs,	.....	885,000	3,800,000	4,685,000
Syrians and Chaldeans,	.....	200,000	.....	200,000
Druses,	.....	80,000	.....	80,000
Kurds,	.....	100,000	.....	100,000
Turkomans,	.....	85,000	.....	85,000
Gipsies,	214,000	.....	.....	214,000
Total,	8,315,000	15,150,000	3,800,000	26,065,000

It will be seen that among the races of European Turkey the Slavonians are most numerous; but the term comprises various nationalities which have nothing more in common than a dialect of the same language. Among them are the Bulgarians, a Turanian race, who came to the river Volga—which gave them their modern name—from the Altai Mountains. They entered Bulgaria in the ninth century as pagans, and were converted to Christianity by the Empress Theodora, of the lower empire. The Christians and Mussulmans of Bulgaria are of the same race, the latter having been converted to Islamism after the Osmanli conquest of European Turkey. The Bulgarians have no connections with the Slavonians beyond their language, which they adopted from the church services on their conversion. The majority of the other Slavonians inhabiting European Turkey are of the same race as the Servians, and claim near connection also with the Slavonians of Russia. In the Bulgarian language, as now spoken, hardly a word exists—

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except those taken from the Turkish—which can be traced back to any Finnish or Tartar source. The Bulgarians must, therefore, be regarded for all practical purposes as a purely Slavonic community.

We must not be led astray by the fictions of geographers, who tell us of the province of Bulgaria, limiting it to the country between the Balkans and the Danube. In reality no such district exists, and the Bulgaria of to-day is the country inhabited by the Bulgarians. Indeed, the worst of the massacres and outrages which have interested Europe in the fate of these people occurred outside of what the geographers choose to consider as Bulgaria. How this idea of a separate province originated it is hard to ascertain. The Turks do not recognise it, and the Bulgarians themselves repudiate it. What geographers call Bulgaria, is known administratively to the Turks as the vilayet of the Danube; the country to the south of the Balkans being known as the vilayet of Adrianople. When the word "Rumeli," or "Roumelia," is used, it is applied in general to the whole of European Turkey as distinct from Anadoli, or Anatolia, Asia Minor. The Greeks, indeed, who still speak of Thrace and Macedonia, sometimes use the word "Bulgaria" to denote the province of the Danube. After throwing out Bosnia, Herzegovina, Old Servia, Albania, and Thessaly, Bulgaria would constitute, in fact, nearly all the rest of European Turkey. More strictly speaking, it would be necessary to cut off from this the regions near the mouths of the Danube, and the sea-coast of the Sea of Marmora, and part of the shore of the Ægean. Bulgaria would be nearly included by a line which started from the Servian frontier, near Alexinatz, and was drawn through Prizend, on the Albanian frontier, Okhrida, Kostoria, Niagusta, Salonica, Adrianople, and Burgas, on the Black Sea, and from thence to the Danube, near Silistria. It would thus include the greater part of the province of the Danube, the districts of Nisch and Sophia, where there are very few Turks, the whole of Macedonia, and that part of

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Thrace west of Adrianople. Any one who is curious on this subject has only to consult the ethnographical map of Turkey compiled by the lamented French *savant*, Lejean, which was published as a supplement to Petermann's "Mittheilungen" in 1861, although there are several inaccuracies contained in it against rather than in favour of the Bulgarians.

The population of these districts, comprising six millions of Christians, nearly all Bulgarians, and rather more than a million Mussulmans, is not so inextricably mixed as some have supposed. Outside of the larger towns, where there are many Turks, the Mahommedans inhabit numerous small districts, scattered like islands in the Bulgarian Sea. Seldom or never is there a Turkish village alone by itself. Not even all of the Mussulmans are Turks. The largest Mahommedan districts—especially the villages in the Rhodope Mountains —are inhabited by what are called Pomaks, that is, Bulgarians who at the time of the conquest became Mussulmans to save their property. In outward appearance, as well as in faith, they are like the Turks, although they pay but little attention to ordinances of religion, and scarcely any of them speak Turkish. Like the Bosnian Mussulmans, they are extremely fanatical, as was shown by their acts during the recent disturbances. In the province of the Danube, especially in the eastern part, there are some colonies of Tartars, but these are, for the most part, peaceful and industrious inhabitants. The settlements of Circassians near Widdin would give some trouble. The remaining Circassians are chiefly colonised between Adrianople and Constantinople. The number of Greeks, except in the large towns, such as Adrianople and Salonica, and the sea-coast villages, is much less than has been supposed. For a hundred years the Greeks, by the powerful influence of their church, endeavoured to Hellenise the Bulgarians. There were none but Greek bishops; and Greek was used in the churches and taught in the schools. The experience of late years, however, has shown the Greeks were in error

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in supposing they had accomplished their work. After the Crimean, and especially since the Italian war, a feeling of nationality arose. The conflict for the national church began; and since the separation of the two sects and the appointment of a Bulgarian exarch, many persons, who before passed for Greeks, are now willing and proud to admit that they are Bulgarians. In this way Philippopolis, which was thought an entirely Greek city, now shows a great majority of Bulgarians. As far as farmers and villagers are concerned, in Macedonia, except in the immediate neighbourhood of Salonica, there are no Greeks at all. In the district of Philippopolis and Tartar Bazardjik, there are only three small Greek villages, the largest of which is Senimakho, with perhaps in all 20,000 people; and of the 312 villages which form the district of Adrianople but 18 are Greek. Perhaps as fair a method as any for ascertaining the real boundaries of Bulgaria would be to take those of the Bulgarian church. When the exarchate was set off from the Greek patriarchate all those districts were allowed to be Bulgarian where two-thirds of the Christian inhabitants wished the change. The choice, however, has never been extended to Macedonia.

"A protest may be made," says Mr Bryce,[1] "against the notion that the Turks deserve to be driven out of Europe because they are Asiatics, as if the Magyars, for instance, were not Asiatics, in almost the same sense as the Turks. For the matter of that, the Mahommedan population of the Turkish Empire are not, ethnologically speaking, Turks at all, any more than we are Normans, or the modern Spaniards Visigoths. There are places in Asia Minor where you may see a few true Turks still remaining, just as in the valleys of the Asturias you may occasionally find villages where blue eyes and light hair show the permanence of a Gothic type. But the Moslems of Turkey are probably one of the most mixed races in the world—the children of those subjects of the

[1] "Russia and Turkey," in the *Fortnightly Review* for December 1876.

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Byzantine Empire, who embraced Islamism at first, or who have been subsequently converted to it; of slaves brought into the empire, of Janissaries, of the upper class of Turks by Georgian, Circassian, Mingrelian, Greek, Slavonic mothers. And the contrast is great indeed between the heavy, languid, flabby faces of the Turkish royal family, for instance, with their drooping eyelids and rounded sensual outlines, and the firm, hard, angular, bony features, small, fierce, restless eyes, and well-knit frames, of the genuine Turks or Tartars of the Aral or Caspian steppes."

The fifth edition of Baron de Worm's book, "The Policy of England in the East," contains some interesting tables on the population and armies of the different European nations. The effective of the armies of the different powers are stated as follows: Russia, 1,789,571; Germany, 1,248,834; France (inclusive of the reserves and territorial army), 1,118,525; Austria, 964,268; Italy, 871,871; England, 655,808; and Turkey, 629,736. In the Turkish army there are 154,376 regulars to 475,360 irregulars, while in the other European armies, with the exception of England, there is about an equal proportion of active and reserved forces. In respect of fleets, France has 63 ironclad vessels, as against 61 possessed by Great Britain; but the latter power has 449 other war vessels, as compared to only 366 in the French navy. Russia has 31 ironclads, and 124 other men-of-war; Turkey has 21 ironclads; Italy, 17; Austria, 12; Germany, 8; and Greece, 1. Montenegro has only 190,000 inhabitants, with an annual revenue of £5000; but it has 26,000 soldiers—in other words, all the able-bodied men are under arms. The public debt of Russia exceeds £300,000,000, or half as much again as that of Turkey.

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Amurath II., his reign opens with civil war; on his refusal to confide his two brothers to the care of Manuel, that Emperor releases Mustapha from prison, incites him to rebellion, and makes a treaty with him to restore to the Greeks the European territories of the Sultan; the latter despatches Bajesid Pacha with an army to confront the rebels, but the Sultan's troops all passing over to Mustapha's side, the pacha is massacred; Amurath, in turn, employs Michalogli to seduce the cavalry of Mustapha, 70; who being abandoned also by Djouneid, flees precipitately, is pursued by the Sultan, taken, and hanged; Manuel, seeking to disarm the Sultan's resentment, sends an embassy, to which the latter refuses to listen, and at once besieges Constantinople, burns the villages and crops in the environs, and massacres the inhabitants, 71; a terrible assault fails, and on learning that his youngest brother had taken up arms against him, the Sultan raises the siege; the accomplices of the rebel prince deliver him up to his brother, who causes him to be strangled; directs an expedition against the Prince of Kastemouni, obtains his renewed submission and the hand of his daughter; Djouneid having again revolted, and being unable to resist the Sultan's forces, shuts himself up in Hypsela; blockaded by sea and land, he surrenders, and is strangled, with all his family, by Hamsa Bey; reunites the territories of Menteschè and Tekieh to the empire, 72; diminishes those of Karaman by one half, and receives by bequest the states of the aged Prince of Kermian; having secured tranquillity on the oriental side of Diarbekir, the Ottomans have no longer any rivals in Asia; intervenes in a war between the Serbs and Hungarians, and acquires a first station on the Danube; next deals blows against the Greeks calculated to bring about their ruin; attacks Thessalonica, ceded by Palæologus II. to the Venetians; that city is carried by assault, sacked, and all the inhabitants massacred or reduced to slavery, 73; desirous of becoming master of the detached provinces of the Greek Empire before attacking Constantinople, he turns his arms against Albania, Servia, and Wallachia, which brings the Turks in contact with Hungary; compels John Castriot, the Albanian ruler, to deliver up his four sons to him, and on his death takes possession of the country; compels Wlad Drakul (or *the Devil*), tyrant of Wallachia, to pay tribute and supply troops to preserve his throne; attacks Georges Brankowich, Prince of Servia, compels him to submit and give him his daughter in marriage; ravages Transylvania, and carries away 70,000 prisoners; besieges Semendria, captures it, and puts out the eyes of the Kral's son, who defended it; besieges Belgrade in vain for six months, 74; defeated at Hermanstadt by Hunyade, with loss of 20,000 men, and again at Vasag; he sues for peace after the disastrous "long campaign" at the hands of the Hungarian hero; restores Wallachia to Drakul, and Semendria, etc., to Brankowich, and concludes a truce which places Servia and Wallachia under the suzerainty of Hungary; disgusted with power on the death of his eldest son Aladdin, he abdicates, entrusting authority to his son Mahommed, then fourteen years old, and seeks retirement among the dervishes at Magnesia; is speedily drawn from that retreat by the news of a crusade of German and Italian adventurers, which proposed to destroy the Ottoman power and drive the Turks into Asia; Bulgaria is devastated, and Varna besieged; the Sultan defeats Hunyade and Drakul at Varna, and carries the Christian camp by assault and massacres its defenders, 76-7; resumes his projects against the remnants of the Byzantine Empire, 77; imposing his alliance on the Duke of Athens, Amurath besieges, captures, and burns Corinth, and sacks the Peloponnesus without mercy; next turns his efforts against Albania, and makes preparations for a decisive expedition against Scanderbeg, but is diverted therefrom by the campaign of Hunyade in Servia, whom he defeats, 78; invades Albania with an immense army, but unsuccessfully, and next year besieges Croïa, which resists him heroically, and he is compelled to raise the siege; on re-

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turning to Adrianople he dies of apoplexy, 79.
Amurath III., son of Selim II., restrains the authority of the sagacious vizier, Mahommed Sokolli, and yields everything to the influence of women and favourites; his character and habits; on arriving at Constantinople, causes his five brothers to be strangled during the night; issues a decree against the use of wine, whereupon the spahis and Janissaries mutiny, and insult and maltreat the grand vizier, 155; hostilities resumed with Hungary, and the imperialists defeated near Kruppa; the heads of the chiefs in command sent to Constantinople and redeemed from the hands of the executioner by the Austrian ambassador; peace formally renewed for eight years, but disturbed by perpetual aggressions, between the Porte and the Emperor Rodolph II.; the attitude of the Porte nearly the same towards Poland—a nominal peace and actual hostilities; Poland treated like Transylvania, as a vassal and tributary state, 156; the favourite Sultana, the Venetian Baffa, obtains the renewal of the capitulations with Venice and greater security for her commerce; the alliance with France respected through the great influence of the French ambassador with the Divan; an embassy from the Sultan to Henry III. of France meets with a magnificent reception; in spite of concessions and professions of friendship, Germigny, the ambassador, appreciates at its proper value the alliance and benevolence of the Turks, and foresees the decadence of the empire, with no longer a Solyman to direct it; Queen Elizabeth of England demands freedom of navigation and commerce for her subjects under their own flag, and the Sultan accedes to the demand, in spite of the lively opposition of the ambassadors of France and Venice, 157; the venality of the Porte, everything bartered for within and without, the Sultan being the first to set the example; treasure amassed by piracy, which no treaties could stop; the piratical cities of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli transformed into regencies or pachalics, and made to pay an annual tribute; the victory won by the Pacha of Tripoli against the Portuguese in the great battle of Alcazar Kebir, brings rich presents and a dominating influence in the Mogreb, 158; the favourites labour at the ruin of Sokolli, who is assassinated; rapid change of grand viziers through rivalries and intrigues; the honour of the Ottoman arms sustained by Osman Pacha in Daghestan, who is named vizier and seraskier; the veritable depositaries of power entirely concentrated in the harem—the mother and sisters of the Sultan, the Sultana Baffa and two Christian slaves the true sovereigns of the empire; these influences incite Amurath to persecute the Christians; England gains the influence which France had lost, 160; the Czar Fœdor Ivanovitch sends ambassadors with rich presents; a furious revolt among the Janissaries at Constantinople, who attack the Seraglio and demand the heads of the defterdar and the beylerbey of Roumelia, who proposed to pay them with alloyed coin; the indifferent success of a campaign, and the revolt of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, in which the Turks in those provinces are massacred, filling Amurath with consternation, he sends for the Holy Standard from Damascus; death, however, releases him from his anxieties, 161; his death concealed until his son Mahommed could arrive from Magnesia, 162; through avarice he amasses a prodigious treasure in a vault of the "Seven Towers," 166.
Amurath IV., eldest son of Achmet I., succeeds to the throne in his eleventh year; during the first ten years of his reign the Janissaries and spahis continue to harass and oppress the empire; Persia extends its conquests; the Pacha of Erzeroum persists in his rebellion until he receives the government of Bosnia; the Crimean Tartars rise, defeat the Ottomans, and take so many prisoners that a Turk is sold for a glass of *boza*; all these reverses caused by the spirit of faction and insubordination reigning in the army, 172; the Sultan strikes terror amongst them by the death of their chief leader, Redgeb Pacha, and from that moment his actual reign begins; the end of that military anarchy brings back victory to the Osmanli; resolves to invade Persia, and places himself at the head of the army;

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takes Erivan, Tebriz, and besieges Bagdad; wears the uniform of a Janissary, and works in the trenches like a common soldier; Persia sues for peace, cedes Bagdad, and receives in exchange Erivan, 178; Amurath's character in manhood; his ferocity and lust of murder; 25,000 men estimated to have perished by his orders in five years; his extreme severity tames the rebellious militia, but fails to restore the ancient valour to his troops, 174; the Ottoman armies fall back into their primitive condition, whilst the Christians rejoice at such decadence; the Sultan is dominated by the influence of the Seraglio; law and right has little power over him in presence of gold—his two ruling passions, gold and blood; he filled his coffers, placed his life in safety, and died calmly in his bed, but his reign of terror paralysed the empire, 175.

Andrassy Note, the, meets with failure, though accepted by the Porte as well as England, and the attention of Europe is arrested by the meeting of the three Emperors, 296.

Andronicus the Emperor, the elder, calls in the aid of Ottoman troops against his grandson, Andronicus the younger; repulses the incursions of the Turks, 43.

Andronicus the younger defeats the Turks summoned to the aid of his grandfather, and concludes with Orchan the first peace between the Greeks and Ottomans; makes a league with the Serukhan emirs against the Genoese, 43.

Andronicus, son of Palæologus I., attempts to wrest the supreme power from his father, and is punished with blindness, 49; recovers the sight of one eye, and is assisted by Bajazet I. to dethrone the old Emperor on promise of a heavy tribute; is in turn deposed, but receives the few other Byzantine cities, 56.

Apafy, Michael, nominee of the Porte, Transylvania abandoned to him by the Emperor Leopold, 183; left in possession on condition of admitting Austrian garrisons in the principal towns, and paying a contribution of 700,000 florins, 195; at his death, Tekeli is made Prince of Transylvania, 198.

Aralan, Alp, the Seljukide, ruler of the east and west, his career of conquest, 28; defeats Cæsar Romanus Diogenes at Konogo; treatment of his prisoner; is assassinated, 29.

Aralan, David and Kilidje, found, at Koniah (Iconium), the Sultanry of Roum, 30.

Aramon, D', ambassador of Henry II. (France) to Solyman *the Great*, accompanies the Sultan in his Persian expedition, 146; opposes steadfastly the violence exercised by the capudan-pacha upon Scio, and procures for the Christians the privileges which they have in part still preserved; obtains the Sultan's consent that the Ottoman fleet should join that of the French, 147.

Arbuthnot, Sir C., English ambassador, accuses the Porte of partiality for France, demands the expulsion of the French ambassador, and threatens an expedition against Constantinople; on refusal of the satisfaction demanded, embarks with all the English merchants on board an English frigate, 247.

Asia, Western, its situation when the struggle between the East and West was recommenced by the Crusades, 30.

Aubusson, Pierre d', Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes, valiantly repulses an attempt of the Turks to take the island by surprise, 107.

Augustus II., King of Poland; Russia, Austria, and Prussia, foreseeing that at his death the Poles would seek to regenerate their country under the protection of France, bind themselves by a pact for the dismemberment of his kingdom, 218; at his death the Poles elect Stanislas Leczinski, but the Russian and Austrian armies place the son of Augustus II. upon the throne, 218; France declares war against Austria and solicits the Porte to avenge the insult of Russia, 219.

Baber founds the Mongol Empire of Delhi, 15.

Baffa, the Venetian Sultana, her dominant influence with Amurath III. in the affairs of Venice; obtains a renewal of the capitulations and greater security for her commerce, 157; her protection preserves peace with the Venetians, 161.

Bagdad founded by Almanzor *the Victorious*, brother and successor of the first Abbaside, 17; grandeur and fall of the Khalifate of, 19; its dis-

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memberment by the Turkish guards, 26.

Bairactar, Mustapha, Pacha of Rutschuk, in an insurrection, forcibly takes the seals from the grand vizier, 249; enters the capital, and proclaims Selim III., whose lifeless body he finds on the floor of the Seraglio, strangled by the orders of Mustapha IV.; causes Mustapha to be flung into the same prison Selim had tenanted, 250; is made grand vizier, and his first act is to put to death the assassins of Selim III. and the favourites of Mustapha; causes insurrectionary Yamak chiefs to be strangled, and 174 women of Mustapha's harem to be sewn up in sacks and flung into the Bosphorus; resumes the plans of reform attempted by Selim; offends the high functionaries by depriving them of the *timars* and appropriating them to his own profit; he perishes in a fire kindled by the revolted Janissaries, 251.

Bajazet I., son of Amurath I., surnamed Ilderim (*the Thunderbolt*), his magnificent bridals with the Princess of Kermian, 55; his first act on accession is the strangling of his only surviving brother, Yakub Chelibi, his first warlike effort the reduction of Servia; assists Andronicus, son of Palæologus, to dethrone the old Emperor and his son Manuel, restores them afterwards to the throne on their promise to pay tribute and become faithful allies, 56; Philadelphia, with Sarukhan and Muntesha, fall under his sway, and he makes considerable inroad upon Karamania, 57; his haughty message to Palæologus; submission of Bulgaria and Wallachia, and inroad made upon Hungary; first equipment of a Turkish fleet to intercept the succour of Constantinople; defeats the Emir of Karamania, and appropriates his territory; with the reduction of Kastemuni the whole of the ancient Seljukian Empire merges in the Ottoman; defeats Sigismund, King of Hungary, at Nicopolis, and murders his Christian prisoners, 58; invades Hungary, Bosnia, and Wallachia; besieges Constantinople for five years and a half; the siege raised on the promise of an augmented tribute, with other humiliating concessions; new accessions through his extensive conquests; reduces the whole of Greece, and plants therein a colony of Asiatics; threatens Constantinople with a second siege, but is diverted from it by Tamerlane, 59; war with Tamerlane, by whom he is defeated and made prisoner at Angora; his treatment during captivity; story of the iron cage; dies in the camp of Tamerlane, and his large empire is dismembered, and the remains of it become a subject of contention to his three sons, 64.

Bajazet II., son of Mahommed II., on his proclamation as Sultan the Janissaries demand an amnesty for their disorders, the accession bounty, the banishment of the favourite Mustapha Pacha, and the elevation of Ishak Bey to the vizierate, all of which he grants, and their tyranny is thus consecrated; character of Bajazet II. (called *the Sofi*); is thrown by the destinies of the empire into wars almost perpetual; his brother Djem takes up arms against him, whom he defeats near Jenischehr; ransoms Broussa, which the Janissaries demand for pillage, by giving 1000 aspres per man, 110; defeats Djem again at Konieh, who is obliged to flee a second time, and afterwards proposes an equal share of territory, but is refused by the Sultan; Keduk Ahmed, the conqueror of Kaffa and Otranto, put to death, on account of his pride and popularity, 111; signs a treaty with the Knights of Rhodes to remain at peace with the Order and to pay it an annual pension of 45,000 ducats for keeping Djem in custody, 112; the projected conquest of Constantinople and Jerusalem by Charles VIII. of France, spreads terror and hope throughout the East; the Pope, Venice, and Ferdinand of Naples, to oppose it, solicit the Sultan to make a descent upon Italy, who, instructed by the Venetians in all the details of the conspiracy, extinguishes it in the blood of 40,000 Christians, 113; Djem's captivity constitutes the most important fact in this reign; in Bosnia and Hungary a war of pillage and atrocities nearly permanent, in which Kinis, Jaxich, Tekely, and other Christian chiefs rival the pachas in ferocity; first relations of the Ottoman Empire with Russia, Ivan III. making friendly propositions to the Sultan through the medium of

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the Khan of the Crimea, 114; pacific relations entered into with Poland; concludes a treaty with John Albert, but that good understanding interrupted through both princes contending for the suzerainty of Moldavia; on John Albert invading that country, the Turks drive him out, and make two irruptions into Poland, pillaging Jaroslav and burning several towns; rupture between the Porte and the Venetians; a naval combat, fought near Sapienza, opening the entrance of the Gulf of Lepanto to the fleet, the city surrenders; Iskender Pacha invades Friuli, crosses the Isonzo and ravages the Venetian territory, and appears under the walls of Vicenza; the Venetians seize upon Cephalonia, and burn at Previsa a squadron of forty Turkish ships, but later, lose Modon, Coron, and Navarino; two treaties concluded with Venice and Hungary, in which all the Christian States are comprised; the last years of his reign troubled by the ambitious pretensions of his sons, 115; a struggle appearing imminent, the Sultan distributes the chief governments amongst his three sons—Korkud, Ahmed, and Selim; the ambition of the latter not being satisfied, he revolts and marches towards Roumelia; his father sends an army against him, which is forced to retire; Selim obtains the government of Semendria and Widdin; on entering Adrianople as a sovereign, Selim is defeated near Tchorli and flees to the Crimea; the Janissaries force the Sultan to recall his son, and conduct him in triumph to Constantinople, 116; Bajazet cedes the empire to Selim and dies on his way to Dimotika, his birthplace, 117.

Bajazet, Prince, son of Solyman *the Great*, the plot of Lala Mustapha to effect his ruin; is incited to insult his brother Selim; is threatened with disgrace by the Sultan by ordering him to exchange his government of Konieh for that of Amasia; burns his father's letters, and takes up arms, is conquered, and flees to Persia; delivered up to the agents of his brother, is murdered, with his five sons, and the throne thus secured to Selim, 150.

Baltadschi, Mahommed, is forced to terms by Peter *the Great*, and signs with him the capitulation of the Pruth, by which the Czar agrees to restore Azof to the Porte, destroy the fortifications of Taganrog, Kamenska, and Samara, recall his army from Poland, and forbear from all interference with the Cossacks, subject to the Khan of Tartary; Charles XII. of Sweden loudly and bitterly reproaches him for allowing the Czar to escape him when in his power, 210; Charles, in conjunction with Poniatowski and the Khan of Tartary, effect the ruin of the vizier, who is banished to Lemnos, where he dies, 211.

Barbarossa (*Red-beard*)—see Chair-eddin.

Batou, grandson of Zinghis Khan, overruns and barbarises Russia, 15.

Bathori, Stephen, Wolwode of Transylvania, with Paul Kinis, inflicts a memorable defeat on the Turks on the Brotfeld, 107.

Bektash, Hajl, the dervish, consecrates the corps of Janissaries, 46.

Beli-Ourosch, son of Voulkan, entitles himself Grand Duke of Servia, 52.

Berlin Memorandum, England refuses to submit to the dictation of the, and the ministers of Russia and Germany find themselves checkmated, 296.

Bessarabia, Russia mobilises a large army in (1877), 297.

Bochari, Seid (called *Emir Sultan*), Grand Sheik of Broussa, leads 500 dervishes to the siege of Constantinople on the promise of pillage, and who claim as their share the nuns of the convents therein; gives the signal for a desperate assault, which lasts till sunset, when the Turks burn their siege machines and retire, the Greeks attributing their deliverance to the Virgin Mary appearing on the walls, 71-2.

Bodin raises Servia and Bosnia; takes the national appellation of *Schoupans*, 51.

Bonac, Marquis de, French ambassador, solicits the Turks to continue hostilities against Austria, but the mediation of England brings about the treaty of Passarowitz, 214.

Bonaparte, Napoleon, his project in conjunction with the French Directory to take part in the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire; on signing the treaty of Campo Formio the expedition to Egypt is resolved upon, 241; it proves disastrous to

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the French for their commerce, religious establishments, and relations with the Porte; brings for the first time, angrily, in presence of each other, Turks and Frenchmen; his invasion of Egypt gives rise to an alliance between Russia and the Porte; his disappointment at Talleyrand's refusal to accept an embassy to the Porte with the view to convince the Divan of his invasion being a friendly act, 243; contemplates exciting a revolt in Macedonia and all the Greek portion of the empire, and despatches Lavalette to Ali Pacha of Janina, who turns a deaf ear to the proposal; his invasion of Egypt rouses the indignation of the Turks, his expulsion excites their contempt; the Porte concludes a peace with him as First Consul, but refuses to acknowledge him as Emperor of the French and King of Italy, 244; after reciprocal embassies the Porte consents to give him the title of Padischah, 245; abandons the interests of the Porte by the secret articles of Tilsit, 248.

Bonneval, Count de, an adventurer, who deserts from the services of France and Germany and turns Mussulman to become a general of bombardiers in the Turkish army; a pacha of two tails and confidant of the grand vizier; attempts to reform the Ottoman army, but is arrested in his projects by the representations of Russia; becomes, by a spirit of intrigue, more hurtful than useful to Turkey and to France, 220; sends to Versailles a project of alliance which offends Cardinal Fleury, and is rejected, 221.

Bosnia created by Voulkan a state sometimes independent of, sometimes vassal of Hungary, becomes an independent kingdom under the Ban Stéphen Tvarko, 53.

Bowide, the, sovereigns of Persia, destroy the power of the Turkish guards to replace it by their own more systematic tyranny, 23.

Bragadino, Marc Antonio, valiantly defends Famagosta against Mustapha Pacha, who, in spite of the capitulation, has the barbarity to cause its defender to be flayed alive and quartered, 153.

Bulgarians, their Tartar origin; subdued by John Zimisces, and converted to Christianity, they render themselves once more independent; Basil annexes them afresh to his empire; they regain their independence and wage fierce war against the Franks, 53; the Bulgaria of today, 301.

Burton, Edward, ambassador to the Porte from Queen Elizabeth, demands that cruisers might be allowed to molest the commerce of the Spaniards; his demands eluded without being positively rejected, 160.

Byron, Lord, assists the Greeks with money and arms, and proceeds to Greece to give them his personal aid, and dies at Missolonghi, 268.

Byzantine Empire, its caducity, 33; St Chrysostom's description of a Byzantine Emperor, 34; description of its people; their venality and servility, 35; its losses at the period of Othoman's death, 40.

Cæsar Romanus Diogenes, the Byzantine Emperor, encouraged by the success of three campaigns against Alp Arslan, advances with 100,000 men into Media; Alp's overtures of peace being met by a demand that he should surrender his capital as a pledge of his sincerity, the Sultan arrays his cavalry on the plain of Konogo, 28; at the close of a hard-fought battle, Romanus, left almost alone, is disarmed and led before Alp Arslan, who sets his foot upon the neck of the Emperor, but afterwards treats him with kindness; Romanus is put to death by his subjects, 29.

Candia (Crete), the siege of, one of the most remarkable in history; its acquisition costs the Turks twenty-five years' fighting, 176-7; an attempt to relieve it by the Duke de Navailles in 1669 having failed, the garrison is compelled to capitulate, but allowed to march out with all the honours of war; a peace terminates a struggle in which the Venetians lost 30,000 and the Turks more than 118,000 men, 184.

Canning, George, English minister, recognises the Greek government by sending them a friendly note, 268; concludes the treaty of London, which founded the kingdom of Greece, 270.

Cantacuzene, John, joint Emperor with John Palæologus, vigorously repulses the attack of Orchan upon Constantinople, 43; repulses the

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Emir of Sarukhan from the Chersonesus; attempts to seize upon undivided power aided by the barbarians; marriage of his daughter to Orchan; the latter sides with Palæologus against him, 44.

Cantemir, Demetrius, hospodar of Wallachia, engages to assist Peter *the Great* on condition that the Czar should aid him in rendering his sovereignty hereditary; induces the Russians to cross the Pruth only to find themselves overtaken and hemmed in by the Turkish army, 209.

Capistrano, John, the Franciscan, preaches a crusade in Hungary against the Turks, 92; determines the raising of the siege of Belgrade by a vigorous sortie, 93.

Capodistrias governs the Greek kingdom in the interest of Russia; has to contend with conspiracies and insurrections; the little Greek fleet burnt by Misulis (1831) to prevent his using it in Russian interest, and is shortly after assassinated, 272.

Carlowitz, treaty of, entails the loss to the Turks of Hungary and Transylvania, the Morea, Dalmatia, Podolia, the Ukraine, and Azof, the first great gap made in the Ottoman Empire; from that moment it ceases to be formidable to Europe, 201; its decadence could no longer be arrested; and the Russians, by acquiring an entrance to the southern seas, commence their European existence, 202.

Carmath, the religious impostor, modifies and enlarges the tenets of the Koran, 22.

Carmathians, the wounds inflicted by that sect on Islamism, among the chief causes of the dissolution of the Bagdad Khalifate, 22.

Castriot, John, Prince of Albania, compelled to deliver up his four sons to Amurath II., who at Castriot's death takes possession of the country, 74.

Castriot, George, fourth son of John, called by the Turks "Iskender Bey" (*Lord Alexander*) and by Europeans *Scanderbeg*, "the dragon of Albania," obtains the favour of Amurath II. and the command of 5000 men in his army; but mindful of his religion and country, abandons the infidels after the first battle of the "long campaign;" kills the Sultan's secretary, and flees into Albania; with a band of 600 partisans, forces the gates of Croïa and massacres the Turkish garrison; a general insurrection ensues, and in thirty days finds himself master of Albania; defeats four armies successively sent against him, 78; harasses the immense army of Amurath by incessant attacks whilst besieging Croïa; repulses the overtures of the Sultan, who tries to negotiate with him, 79; sustains with indefatigable perseverance the attacks of the Turks, and wins the admiration even of his enemies; Mahommed II. offers him peace, and leaves him in tranquil possession of Epirus and Albania, 94; dies of fever at Alessio; his tomb opened by Mahommed II., who exhibits his remains to the admiring Moslems; pieces of his bones sought for with avidity to be converted into talismans, 104.

Catherine I., Empress of Russia, consort of Peter *the Great*, her humble origin, and equivocal antecedents; secretly married to Peter *the Great* before he sets out for the campaign against the Turks (1707); her skill in the penetration of character; gains an entire empire over the Czar; extricates him from the imminent peril in which he was placed when hemmed in by the Turks under Mahommed Baltadschi, 209; after Peter's death seeks, in a close alliance with Austria, the support Russia needed to ruin the Ottoman Empire; the treaty of Vienna concluded (1725), 216.

Catherine II. (Russia), after the murder of Peter III., her husband, the ambitious designs of the Empress forces the Ottoman Porte to quit its inaction and draw closer its alliance with France, 224; she compels the Poles to elect Stanislas Poniatowski as king, and imposes a code of laws upon Poland destined to perpetuate its anarchy, 225; marks out some of the Turkish provinces for her future prey, and bribes the Divan with large sums, 226; on the capture of Cracow, the Sultan declares war against her and imprisons Obreskoff, the Russian resident, 227; attempts the conquest of Greece and Constantinople, but the whole business degenerates into a marauding expedition; the Russians destroy the Turkish fleet, a victory wholly due to British officers, 230; her project of a new Eastern Em

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pire—a new Greek kingdom on the coasts of the Black Sea; her efforts to drive the Turks from Europe, 233; with that view makes an advantageous commercial treaty with France; the creation of a formidable fleet at Kherson and Sebastopol unveils her secret designs; insolently demands the dismissal of pachas and officials who displease her; makes a pompous progress to the Crimea, where she meets her ally, Joseph II., and discusses the proximate re-establishment of the republics of Sparta and Athens; scared from continuing her journey to Kinburn by a Turkish fleet in the Liman, 234; her minister at Constantinople imprisoned, and war declared against Russia, 235; refuses to accede to the Congress of Reichenbach, or to accept the mediation of Prussia with the Porte; Great Britain demands for the Porte the strict *status quo ante*, and in pursuance of such declaration equips a large fleet destined for the Baltic; but after considerable negotiations, preliminaries are signed at Gallacz between Prince Repnin and the grand vizier, 238.

Cervantes, author of "Don Quixote," loses his left arm in the battle of Lepanto, 154.

Cesarini, Cardinal, the papal legate, summons Ladislas, King of Hungary, to tear up the treaty (1444) which placed Servia and Wallachia under the suzerainty of Hungary, 75; takes command of an army of German and Italian adventurers with the design of destroying the Ottoman power, 76; is slain at the battle of Varna, 77.

Chaireddin Barbarossa (*Red-beard*), admiral of Solyman's fleet; of Greek and Christian origin, son of a spahi of Mitylene, devotes himself to piracy during the reign of Bajazet II., 139; enters the service of Mahommed, Sultan of Tunis; his piratical descents upon Cherchell, Bougia, and Algiers; makes himself master of the latter by assassinating the Moorish prince, does homage for his conquest to the Sultan, and receives from him the title of Beylerbey of Algiers, which port becomes a nest of corsairs; he disperses a Spanish squadron and carries away from Andalusia 70,000 Moors; captures two sail of Doria's fleet and burns eighteen vessels in sight of Messina; created capudan-pacha; equips a formidable fleet of eighty-four ships, with which he sacks Reggio, Fondi, and other Italian strongholds; steers for Africa and takes possession of Tunis in the Sultan's name, 140–1; Charles V. resolves to retake Tunis, but Barbarossa, despairing of defending the town, risks an encounter in the open country; abandoned by his African auxiliaries, is forced to take flight, Tunis being pillaged by the conquerors, 30,000 inhabitants massacred, and 50,000 Christian captives have their chains broken, 141; attacks the islands of the Archipelago and the Ægean, most of which fall to the Turks, 143; his capture of Nice the sole result of an armament which ought to have annihilated the Spanish fleet and which cost France dearly; his insolence at Toulon induces Francis I. to pay him 800,000 crowns to quit that harbour; again spreads terror and desolation along the coasts of Italy, whence he carries off 14,000 Christians, the corsair-captain's last notable exploit, 144.

Chardin, the traveller, his account of the Ottoman State at the commencement of the reign of Mahommed IV., 180.

Charles VIII. of France, his projected crusade against Constantinople and Jerusalem; purchases from a son of Thomas Palæologus his rights to the throne of the East; distributes arms and money throughout Macedonia, Greece, and Albania, and the route of the French marked out from Otranto to Avlona, from Avlona to Byzantium; claims the person of Prince Djem, with whom he hopes to kindle war in the Turkish provinces; is hailed in Italy with the titles of "Defender of the Church" and "Liberator of the Faith," and spreads terror and hope throughout the East; the Pope, Venice, and Ferdinand of Naples, in order to oppose the French conquest, solicit the Sultan to make a descent upon Italy; Bajazet II., instructed by the Venetians in all the details of the conspiracy, extinguishes it in the blood of 40,000 Christians, 113.

Charles V., Emperor of Germany, vast possessions on his accession, 125; accuses Francis I. (France) openly of treason against Christendom by his alliance with Solyman *the Great*, 132; Francis formally denies the

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accusation and tells Charles V. that "he lied in his throat;" his first appearance at the head of his army against Solyman is attended with considerable glory and success, 138; resolves to retake Tunis in the hope of dealing a mortal blow to the Turco-French alliance, and takes command of a powerful armament; carries the place after a month of continual fighting, 30,000 inhabitants massacred and 50,000 Christians released; this feat fills up the measure of power and glory of the Emperor, 141; Charles and Ferdinand, desirous of peace, become necessary for both through the revolt of the Lutheran princes, consent to pay the Porte an annual subsidy, 144; a truce of five years concluded with the Sultan, the Emperor, and Ferdinand, 145; the imperialists capture Szegedin, but are surprised before the town and cut in pieces, 146.

Charles XII., King of Sweden, tries by a terrible war to stifle Russia by giving new life to Poland; reckoning upon the futile promise of Turkey that the Khan of the Crimea would march to his assistance, he adventures into the interior of Russia with a small army, is conquered at Pultowa, seeks refuge in Turkey, establishes himself at Bender, and thence intrigues with the Divan to draw Achmet III. into the war against Peter *the Great*, 207; summoned by Poniatowski to behold the destruction of his adversary the Czar, to his rage and mortification, he arrives only in time to see the last retreating ranks of the Russians, 210; incensed against the Grand Vizier Baltadschi, he and Poniatowski, with the Khan of Tartary, effect his ruin; Charles's characteristic obstinacy and recklessness in refusing to quit the Sultan's dominions; defends his little camp at Varnitza with desperation until, more than once wounded, he is secured; a residence assigned to him at Demotica with a very reduced allowance, 211; his extraordinary journey from Turkey to join his army in North Germany, 212.

Charles, Prince of Hohenzollern, cousin of the Emperor of Germany, chosen hospodar of Roumania on the abdication of Prince Couza, 293.

Chelibi, Yakub, only surviving brother of Bajazet I., murdered by him on his accession; this example of fratricide becomes a standing law of the Ottoman Empire, 56.

Choiseul, Duke de, minister of Louis XV., protests against the intervention of Russia in the affairs of Poland, 225; finds occasion for a renewal of the struggle with England in her troubles with North America; urges the Turks to war by promising them the neutrality of Austria, 226; endeavours to persuade Louis XV. to sink the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, 229.

Christian era, that portion of it which preceded the birth of Islamism, 14.

Condolmieri, Cardinal, commandant of the pontifical fleet, enters upon a crusade to drive the Turks into Asia, 76.

Conference, the, at Constantinople, the scheme of reform agreed to by the European diplomatists, including Lord Salisbury and General Ignatieff, when submitted to the Sultan is rejected, 297

Corvinus, Matthias, King of Hungary, makes a treaty with Wlad *the Devil* to attack the Ottomans, 97; flings Wlad into prison, 98.

Cossacks, the, of the Ukraine, their voluntary submission to Mahommed IV. increases for a time the already vast limits of the Ottoman domination; the locality and extent of their country; from its position it was necessary for them to seek a protector; so long as the Tartars and Turks menaced the liberty of Europe, their military institution was useful and politic; they were on the Borysthenes what the Knights of St John of Jerusalem had been in the isle of Rhodes; their incursions becoming nothing more than brigandage, the kings of Poland are urged to repress them; finding the domination of Poland irksome and galling, they seek to secure the protection of the Turks, 185; upon this a Polish army is sent into their country, and war breaks out between the Sultan and the King of Poland, 186.

Czernovich, Archbishop of Servia, joins the Emperor Leopold in an effort to raise all the Slaves under the sacred banner of their patriarch, but without success, 256; the Servian Christians submit to the infidel Turks rather than risk being subjected to the Church of Rome; the

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national Servian Church completely extinguished about 1740, 257.

Damad Ali Pacha, grand vizier of Achmet III., informs the Venetian *bayle* in the grossest terms of the Sultan's intention not to rest till he had recovered the Morea; is imprisoned, with his suite of forty-two persons, as hostages for the security of Turkish subjects in the Venetian dominions, 213.

Dédé-Sultan (*father and lord*), a Turk of obscure birth, gives himself out as a prophet, and heads a revolt of dervishes near Smyrna, and, followed by a band of 3000, goes about preaching the doctrine of equality, 67; mustering to the number of 10,000 strong at Mount Stylarios, they exterminate the first body of troops sent to disperse them; Dédé afterwards defeated in a sanguinary battle by Amurath, the Sultan's son, and put to the sword with all his adherents; this revolt involved an attempt of the Christian races to regain their independence, 68.

Derby, the Earl of, justifies the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum, 297.

Descorches, ex-Marquis of Sainte Croix, his mission to persuade the Porte to persist in its neutrality during the wars of the French Revolution, 241.

Deviet Sheral, sole survivor of the race of Zinghis, becomes founder of the Khans of the Crimea, 105.

Djem, or Zizim, Prince, younger son of Mahommed II., governor of Karamania, his character; his understanding with the Vizier Karamani to conceal his father's death, but the truth being suspected, the Janissaries rise and put the vizier to death; the messenger despatched to Djem intercepted, and, warned in time, Bajazet causes himself to be proclaimed Sultan, 109; takes up arms, marches upon Broussa, defeats a corps of 2000 Janissaries, and enters the city; his brother Bajazet advancing with an army to maintain his rights, Djem, dividing his insufficient forces, is defeated near Jenischehr and seeks refuge with the Sultan of Egypt; next year returns from Cairo to Aleppo, allies himself with Kasim Bey, last of the princes of Karaman, and several Ottoman governors, and besieges Konieh, 110; compelled to raise the siege by Keduk Ahmed; the governor of Angora is slain, and the rebel prince obliged to flee a second time; proposes to Bajazet an equal share of territory, and is refused and throws himself into the arms of the enemies of the empire; sends a secret agent to the Grand Master of Rhodes to propose a treaty, 111; is received in the island with great pomp, and a treaty concluded securing great advantages to the Order in the event of his becoming Sultan; is made, however, to take his departure for France; some days after, the Knights sign a treaty with Bajazet II., who engages to remain at peace with the Order and pay it an annual pension of 45,000 ducats for keeping his brother in custody; the Pope, King of Hungary, and the Emperor, in vain demand that he should be set at liberty, hoping to make him assist in weakening the Ottoman Empire; arrives at Nice and thence successively transferred as a captive to various strongholds during seven years; delivered up at length to Pope Innocent VIII., and on his death, to Pope Alexander Borgia, who offers to get rid of him for 300,000 ducats, but gives up his captive poisoned, who dies at Naples, 113; his love for the beautiful Helen of Sassenage; his captivity and the events consequent upon it contribute to multiply the relations of the Ottomans with Western Europe, 114.

Djouneïd, lieutenant of Solyman, son of Bajazet I., attempts to found an independent principality by seizing upon Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamus; confronted by Mahommed I., he sues for peace, and afterwards made governor of Nicopolis, 66; supports the pretender Mustapha in his invasion of Thessaly, 69.

Dolgorouki, the Russian general, subdues the Crimea, as well as Arabat, Jeniclava, Kertech, Kaffa, and Taman; the war on its renewal goes in favour of the Turks, 231.

Doria, Andria, the Genoese admiral of Charles V., compelled to put in to Messina to escape Barbarossa's fleet, 139; seizes upon Coron, 140.

Doroszensko, hetman of the Cossacks, offers Mahommed IV. the suzerainty of the Ukraine; the Sultan gives him the investiture and title of Sandjakbey; that alliance causes war be-

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tween the Porte and Poland, 186; during that war, the hetman having offered his aid to the Porte, which, out of pique or revenge, being rejected, he submits himself, with all his people, to the protectorate of Russia; on hearing this, the Sultan draws from prison Georges Kiemielniski, son of an old hetman, and nominates him in the place of Doroszensko, but the Cossacks refuse to recognise the authority of Kiemielniski; the Porte then invades Moldavia and Podolia, advances to besiege Cepryn, and the Tartars hurry up from the Crimea; the Cossacks and Russians, in order to hinder the junction of the two armies, fall upon the Tartars and cut them in pieces; the Turks, terrified, recross the Bug, 189.

Duckworth, Admiral Sir John, forces the passage of the Dardanelles with his fleet; seizes and burns a Turkish squadron at Gallipoli; demands the immediate dismissal of the French ambassador, renewal of the alliance with England and Russia, free passage of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, and surrender of the Turkish navy, but suffers himself to be amused by negotiations, and retreats from Constantinople not without some loss; attempts a *coup de main* upon Egypt, and takes Alexandria, but fails in two attempts upon Rosetta, 247.

Douschan, Stephen, the Servian conqueror and legislator, possesses by himself or by his vassals the whole of what was Turkey in Europe; causes himself to be crowned (1340), at Uskoup, Emperor of the Romans and Triballes, and conceives the project of destroying the empire of the East; the Serb Empire dismembered under his successor, Ourosch V., 52.

Echref, cousin of Mir Mahmoud, Shah of Persia, causes him to be strangled, and seizes upon his power; is recognised as legitimate sovereign of Iran, but speedily overthrown by Nadir, lieutenant of his rival, Shah Thamas, 217.

Edris the Alide makes himself master of the northern part of Africa, and assumes the title of Khalif; is poisoned by an emissary of Haroun Al-Raschid; his posterity deposed by the Fatimites, 18.

Elphinstone, Admiral, and other English officers in the Russian fleet gain a victory over the Turks off Chios, of which all the honours and emoluments fall to Count Alexis Orloff, 230.

Emir al Omara (*or chief of chiefs*), the, supersedes the office of vizier in the Khalifate, and becomes the real sovereign of the State, 25.

Emir Pacha, accused of conducting the war against the Russians with too little vigour, is recalled and beheaded at Adrianople, 228.

Eugene, Prince, of Savoy, in command of the imperial army, after a series of skilful marches and countermarches, falls upon the Turks at the fords of the Theiss, near Zenta, and signally defeats them; 10,000 perish in the river, the grand vizier is slain, the Sultan, Mustapha II., takes flight, and the conquerors enter Bosnia, 199; exhorts the Emperor of Germany to aid the Venetians in a war against the Turks for having violated the peace of Carlowitz; enters Hungary at the head of 70,000 men; attacked by the vizier in his camp before Peterwardein, the prince offers him battle, in which the vizier is slain and the Turks utterly defeated; the fruits of the victory—the surrender of Temesvar, and Wallachia declares for the Emperor; defeats the new grand vizier, Khalil Pacha, and enters Belgrade; thereupon ensues the peace of Passarowitz, 214.

Ferdinand, Archduke, of Austria (afterwards King of Hungary and Bohemia), brother of Charles V.; a French ambassador and his twelve attendants assassinated by the Sandjak of Bosnia, with the privity, it is supposed, of Ferdinand, 128; claims the vacant throne of Hungary, 131; encounters a rival claimant, John Zapoly, at Tokay, and defeats him, 131; vainly endeavours to bring over the Sultan to his interests, who imprisons his envoys, 132; awaits at Linz the succours of the German princes to defend Vienna against an army of 300,000 Turks; the defence one of the most brilliant feats in the history of Germany, 134; Ferdinand sends an embassy to Solyman, which, after enduring the disdain and insults of the grand vizier, leads to nothing; the Sultan refuses to acknowledge Ferdinand either as King

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of Hungary or of Bohemia, but simply as lieutenant of Charles V.; tries the effect of another embassy at Belgrade, its magnificent reception but fruitless errand, 137; concludes a peace with the Porte, by which he retains all he held in Hungary and is free to make what terms he pleases with Zapoly, 138.

Feriol, De, ambassador of Louis XIV., makes seven campaigns with the Turks, but offends the Ottoman court by conceitedness, and insults the Sultan by presenting himself wearing a sword at his side, 200; attempts to traverse the negotiations for peace with Austria, opened through the mediation of England and Holland, 203.

Feudal system, the Turkish; Mahommed II. introduces the old feudal usages of the Seljukian Empire, called the Timariot system; in some respects singularly parallel with the English feudal system, 100; in conjunction with the tributes of Christian chiefdom, it mainly consolidated the Turkish power in Europe; contrasted favourably on some points with the western system, 101.

Fleury, Cardinal, minister of Louis XV., his intention of profiting by the diversions which Turkey should undertake against Austria in favour of Poland; not perceiving that the elevation of Russia had changed the necessities of French policy; therefore orders Villeneuve only to incite the Turks to enter Hungary; offended with Bonneval for negotiating a project of alliance which he had not ordered; Charles VI. (Germany), seeing his ruin foreboded in the alliance between France and the Porte, makes Fleury very advantageous offers of peace, and the treaty of Vienna is concluded (1735); points out to the English minister the interest Great Britain had in arresting the usurpations of the Russians, 221; directs Villeneuve to make every exertion to procure peace for the Turks, to prevent Russia from obtaining the navigation of the Black Sea, 222.

Feodor Ivanovitch, Czar of Russia, sends ambassadors with rich presents to Amurath III., 161.

Francis I. (France) seeks an alliance with the Porte; its origin involved in mystery and obscurity, 127; a French embassy murdered by the Sandjak of Bosnia and robbed of the ring worn by Francis I. at Pavia, 128; urges Solyman I. to invade Hungary, 129; his fresh relations with Solyman I., 132; uneasy at the clamours to which these relations give rise, he formally denies them and tells Charles V. that "he lies in his throat," 133; league with Solyman under the form of a commercial treaty, 138; capitulations of the Porte with France, 141; solicits a new and effective alliance with Solyman, but the death of Francis I. destroys their projects, 145.

George I. (England) enters into an alliance with the Regent Duke of Orleans to constrain the King of Spain and the Emperer to respect the stipulations of Utrecht, and England offers her mediation to the Divan; peace is signed at Passarowitz, 214.

Germigny, Baron de, ambassador of Henry III. (France), acquires great influence with the Divan; appreciates at its proper value the alliance and benevolence of the Turks; foresees the decadence of the empire with no longer a Solyman to direct it, 157.

Gortschakoff, Prince, commander-in-chief of the Russian army, issues a proclamation on its crossing the Pruth against any intention of conquest in making offensive war upon the Porte, 280; three army corps under his command invest Kalafat, 284; attacks the allies upon the Tchernaia with 60,000 men, but is repulsed with the loss of 6000, 291.

Gratiani, Caspar, wolwode of Moldavia, courts the favour of Sigismund III. of Poland, by sending him intercepted letters addressed to Bethlem Gabor; is deposed on its discovery, but being assisted by the Poles with an army, he fights an obstinate battle near Jassy against Iskander Pacha; is defeated and perishes in the retreat, 169.

Greek Empire, the, its effete condition in the middle of fifteenth century; Constantinople existing only by sufferance of the Turks until it yields to the arms of Mahommed II.; with its fall the curtain falls on the nations of antiquity, and the final establishment of the Turks in Europe forms the first great episode of modern history, 99.

Greeks, the Byzantine, their corrup-

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tion and degeneracy; purchase peace of the barbarians instead of fighting them, 86; their corruption of Christianity, 87; they preserve in slavery all their hatred of the Latins, and turn hopefully towards the barbarian Russians, 206.
Greek Church, policy and pretensions of the; the Russian Church a last and pitiful abortion of the siege of Byzantium; her pretension of inheriting the religious power of Constantinople and of re-establishing the Eastern Empire to the profit of the Czars of Moscow, 206.
Greek fire, the, 86, 85.
Grondowitsch, Russian general, defeats Yussuf Pacha on the Aspatschal, 248.

HAMADANITE dynasty, the, severs Mesopotamia from even the nominal dominion of the Khalifs, 23.
Hamsa Bey, brother of Bajezid Pacha, causes the arch-rebel Djouneïd, with all his family, to be strangled in prison, 72.
Harebone (or Harburn), ambassador of Queen Elizabeth (England), charged to demand from Amurath III. freedom of commerce for English ships in Ottoman waters; which is acceded to in spite of the opposition of the ambassadors of France and Venice, 158.
Haroun Al-Raschid, Khalif of Bagdad, his popularity; makes eight invasions of the Greek Empire, and imposes a tribute upon the emperors, 17; borrows from the Byzantines their books and sciences; his patronage of learned men; extent of his dominions; their division between his three sons, 18.
Henry II. (France) takes care to keep up friendly relations with the Porte, the alliance being almost solely directed to the interests of commerce and protection of Christians in the East; his sons, guided by their astute mother, follow the policy of their grandfather, Francis I., 147.
Henry III. (France) deserting his throne of Poland to return to France, thus miscarries the sole chance of securing the accession of Poland to the Turko-French alliance, an accession which would not only have checked the aggrandisement of Austria, but hindered the rise of Russia, 156; an embassy from Amurath III. receives a magnificent reception; his want of a navy compels him to send his ambassadors in a Venetian vessel, 157.
Hetæria, secret society of the, first great alliance of all the Slaves effected under it, a continuation of the old Slavonic religious brotherhoods; where located; invites Kara George to return to Servia, who, on his arrival at Smederova, is murdered at the instigation of Milosch, 262; intrigues of the society with Russia, 263.
Hohenlohe, general of the Emperor Leopold I. (Germany), and Zrinyi, Ban of the Croats, seize upon Presnitz, Babocsa, and Baris, and burn the city of Fünfkirchen with more than 500 villages, 183.
Holy League, the, an alliance between Pope Pius V., Philip II. of Spain, and the Venetians, against Selim II., 154; another league against the Turks formed by Innocent XI., the Emperor Leopold, John Sobieski, the Czar Ivan Alexiowitsch, and the Republic of Venice; the war proclaimed against Mahommed IV., called the Holy War, lasts till the peace of Carlowitz, 194.
Hunyade (or Hunniades), John Corvinus, surnamed *the White Knight*, wolwode of Transylvania, arrests the invasions of the Turks during twenty years; raised by his merits to command the Hungarian armies, Ladislas owed to him his throne; defends Hermanstadt against the Turks, kills 20,000, and drives the rest beyond the Danube, and sends the heads of the Turkish generals to the Kral of Servia; achieves a victory at Vasag as complete as the first against 80,000 Turks; his "long campaign" still more disastrous for the Ottoman, and Amurath is compelled to sue to him for peace; a truce of ten years places Servia and Wallachia under the suzerainty of Hungary, 75; joins a crusade with King Ladislas, Drakul, and a body of German and Italian adventurers with the design of destroying the Ottoman power; is defeated and put to flight by Amurath II. in the battle of Varna, 77; invades and ravages Servia, wages a terrible and unequal struggle for three days with Amurath at Kossova, but, betrayed by the Wallachians, is compelled to flee, 79; in the campaign of Mahommed II. against Servia, assists the

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Kral Georges to defeat the Turks, and obtains a truce, 92; Hunyade, with an army, throws himself into Belgrade besieged by the Sultan, destroys the Turkish flotilla, and repulses every assault; at length a vigorous sortie throws the Ottoman camp into disorder and determines the raising of the siege; Mahommed II. withdraws wounded, leaving 24,000 dead and all his artillery; the saviours of the city only shortly survive their triumph; Hunyade succumbs at the end of fifteen days, 93.

Ibrahim Pacha, vizier of Solyman the Great, a Christian by birth, and son of a sailor of Parga; his education and mental qualities; becomes page and favourite of Solyman and afterwards first vizier, 124; his nomination angers Ahmed Pacha, who, rushing into open rebellion, is delivered up by the Arabs and put to death, 125; possesses the ring worn by Francis I. at Pavia, 128; is won over to the interests of King John Zapoly after the battle of Tokay, 131; appointed Seraskier, directs the siege of Vienna, 134; concludes an alliance with France which, under the form of a commercial treaty, was, in fact, a political league—his last political act; wrings from the Sultan first the deposition and next the condemnation to death of the defterdar Iskender Tchelebi, whose wealth and fame give him umbrage; assumes the significant title of *Seraskier-Sultan*, at which presumption the offended Sultan orders him to be strangled, 142.

Ibrahim, youngest son of Achmet I., and brother of Amurath IV., humours the House of Austria, and enjoins Rakoczy, prince of Transylvania, to discontinue war against the Emperor and break with Sweden, 175; recaptures Azof from the Cossacks; all his efforts directed against the Republic of Venice; his son having been captured at sea and detained in Candia by the Venetian commander, the Sultan resolves to exterminate all the Christians in his states; confines the ambassadors to their houses, closes the offices of the Frank merchants, and lays an embargo on their ships; directs a great expedition against Candia, the acquisition of which costs twenty-five years' fighting, 176; the Venetian fleet devastates the coasts of the Morea, Tenedos, and plain of Troy; the Turks fail before Candia and in their attacks on Dalmatia; the religious zeal of the Catholic world finds vent in cries for war against the infidels; the wily policy of Cardinal Mazarin with regard both to the Turks and Venetians, 177; the vices of the Sultan rather than the courage of the Candians retard the capture of the city; the favourite Sultanas devour the revenues of the State and dispose at will of every appointment; the army weary of this shameful tyranny; the spirit of revolt is again aroused; the Janissaries depose Ibrahim, and the principal dignitaries cause him to be strangled, 178.

Ibrahim, grand vizier of Mahommed IV., succeeds Kara Mustapha; enraged at the successes of the Austrians in Hungary, causes Tekeli, whom he regards as the cause of them, to be carried in chains to Adrianople, 194; dismissed from office the same year, Tekeli recovers his liberty, 195.

Ibrahim Pacha, adopted son of Mehemet Ali, defeats the Greeks in the Morea, takes Navarino and the island of Sphagia; joined by Redschid Pacha, Missolonghi, after a six months' siege, yields to their united arms, 269; having violated an armistice, and to arrest the horrible atrocities he was committing, the allied fleets of England, France, and Russia enter the harbour of Navarino and almost totally destroy the Turco-Egyptian fleet, 270; his successful campaign in Syria, 272; on the Sultan attempting to recover Syria, he totally defeats the Turkish army at Nisib, 273.

Ignatieff, General, succeeds in establishing great influence over the councils of the Sultan Abdul Aziz, 294.

Iskander Pacha, governor of Silistria, defeats a Polish army under Caspar Gratiani in a great battle near Jassy, 169.

Ivan Alexiowitsch, Czar of Muscovy, having joined the Holy League in 1686, is frustrated in every attempt to penetrate into the Crimea by the Tartars, 195

Jeddah, fanaticism at; ample reparation exacted for the murder of Christians, 292.

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Jews, the, their position in the empire; monopolise most branches of commerce, 166.
John, son of Andronicus, succeeds to the throne of Constantinople on the abdication of Manuel; humiliates the empire by purchasing the removal of the besieging Turkish army by promise of an augmented tribute and the admission of a Turkish colony; Bajazet I. sends him a haughty message, and threatens the capital with a second siege, but is diverted therefrom by the approach of Timour, 59; deposed and banished to Thessaly, 64.
John, Don, of Austria, the victory of Lepanto creates the reputation of, 154.
Joseph II., Emperor of Austria, in an interview with Frederick II. of Prussia, recognises the necessity of setting bounds to the advance of Russian power, 230; his failure in a campaign against the Turks; two fruitless attempts to surprise Belgrade throws a shade over Austrian policy; the grand vizier breaks the Austrian centre, and the Emperor returns to Vienna ill and dispirited, 235; rejects the mediation of Frederick II. in an angry letter in which he reproaches the Hohenzollerns with their encroachments, 237.
Jurissich, Nicholas, at the head of 700 men, inflicts an humiliating disgrace upon Solyman *the Great*, who is repulsed in eleven assaults, and at length obliged to accept a capitulation, 137.
Jurked Pacha, governor of Amasia, bey of Amurath II., makes himself master by treason of the most turbulent chiefs on the oriental side of Diarbekir, and secures tranquillity upon that frontier, 73.

Kaher, Khalif of Bagdad, deposed by the Turkish guards and deprived of sight; begs his bread during the rest of his life, 23.
Kantakuzenus, Michael, surnamed *Seitan Oglie*, "the Devil's Son," his intrigues and enormous wealth; the splendour of his palace rivals the Seraglio; the fate of whole provinces in his hands; gains his influence through the favour of the vizier Sokolli; incurs the wrath of Amurath III., and is hanged before the gate of his own palace, 166.
Kara Mustapha, the Kaïmacan, succeeds his brother-in-law, Ahmed Kuprufi, as grand vizier; maintains himself in power during seven years; the accession of that unworthy heir of the Kuprulis marks the beginning of the period of decadence; his pride and most scandalous ostentation; to meet his lavish expenditure, had need of enormous sums, which he procured by the most shameful means and cruel extortions; his venality; he sells governments, dignities, and justice; manifests no more talent as a general than probity as an administrator, 188; opposes the opening of negotiations with the victorious Russians and Cossacks, and takes command of an expedition against them; Cehryn only taken after a long and murderous siege; continually harassed by the Russians, the retreat of the Turks resembles a rout; they lose a great portion of their artillery and baggage; a peace at last concluded at Radzin, 189; resolves to openly assist the Hungarian malcontents under Count Emmerich Tekeli, who enters into a formal treaty with the Porte, and several conquests are effected; takes command of a large but disorderly army transferred to him by the Sultan at Belgrade, and talks of renewing the conquests of Solyman; some prompt and easy successes exalt his ambition, and contrary to the advice of Tekeli and others, he resolves to besiege Vienna; advances direct upon that capital and encamps under its walls (14th July 1683); through his dilatoriness the Duke of Lorraine throws 12,000 men into the city; he meets with a sturdy defence, and, when on the point of delivering an assault, a fresh army under John Sobieski arrives to the succour of Vienna; the Turks put to flight on all sides, leaving 10,000 dead on the field; seized with a panic, they abandon their camp and baggage, the booty amounting to 15,000,000 crowns, 193; the campaign terminated by the capture of Gran, which had been almost a century and a half in the hands of the Turks; the Sultan, enraged at these misfortunes, causes Kara Mustapha to be beheaded at Belgrade, 194.
Kasim Bey, last of the princes of Karaman, joins Prince Djem in besieging Konieh; makes submission to Bajazet II., and all Karamania is pacified, 111.

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Kasim Pacha replaces Ahmed Pacha in the government of Egypt; put to death as a rebel, 125.
Katalaner, general of Ferdinand of Austria, his disastrous defeat by the Osmanli cavalry, 143.
Kaunitz, the Austrian minister, enters into a treaty to assist the Porte in recovering all the conquests of the Russians and to compel them to evacuate Poland, 281.
Keduk Ahmed, conqueror of Kaffa and Otranto, compels Prince Djem to raise the siege of Konieh, but rendering himself odious to Bajazet II., is put to death, 111.
Khedive, the, his reception at the European courts gives offence to the Sultan, 298.
Kiemielniski, Georges, son of an old hetman of the Cossacks, is drawn from prison by Mahommed IV. and nominated in place of Doroszenako, but the Cossacks refuse to recognise his authority, 188; joins in the attack on Cehryn, taken only after a long and murderous siege, 189.
Kinis, Paul, Count of Temesvar, long a terror to the Turks, inflicts upon them a memorable defeat near Szasz Varos, 107.
Königsmark, Count, a Swede, commands a large force of Germans in the Venetian army in the *Holy War* against the Turks, 194.
Krim Giral, the Tartar Khan, recalled from banishment and begins the war against Russia with his hordes; invades New Servia and commits the most terrible devastations, and returns to Bender with 35,000 prisoners; is poisoned by his Greek physician Siropolo, 228.
Kruppa, battle of, the imperialists defeated in the, their heads sent to Constantinople, where the Austrian ambassador is compelled to redeem them from the hands of the executioner, 156.
Kupruli Mahommed, grand vizier of Mahommed IV., situation of the empire on his being raised to that post, 179; his first care is to restore order and discipline; suppresses a military mutiny by numerous executions, 4000 bodies flung into the sea; hangs the Greek patriarch for treason; resumes vigorously the war against the Venetians; takes offence at not receiving the customary visit and presents from the French ambassador De la Haye, and a serious rupture is the result; becomes infuriated by a correspondence in cipher intercepted by a renegade, which discloses the secret assistance given by France to the Venetians, 180; orders the ambassador's son, on his refusal to decipher the letters, to be maltreated, and afterwards thrown into a dungeon; detains De la Haye at Adrianople under strict watch until after his return from the war in Transylvania; anxious to prevent a rupture, Mazarin sends an envoy with a letter from Louis XIV.; Kupruli receives him superciliously and threatens to send away De la Haye ignominiously; the envoy returns with his letters; Mazarin recalls De la Haye, 182; Mazarin and Kupruli both die in the same year; a comparison between the two ministers, who both exercised a veritable tutelage over their sovereigns and raised up again the states they governed; Kupruli's death-bed advice to the Sultan; Mahommed's last request to his grand vizier, 182.
Kupruli, Ahmed, son of Kupruli Mahommed, inherits the functions and authority of his father, who bequeaths to him the termination of two wars; Venice and Austria in vain open negotiations, 182; Ahmed crosses the Danube, lays siege to Neuhausel and captures that stronghold, the bulwark of Hungary, and which entails the submission of the adjacent strongholds; the menacing tide of Mussulman invasion arrested by the celebrated Montecuculli, who defeats the Turks in the battle of St Gothard, and throws them into a disorderly flight, in which more than 10,000 were slain or drowned in the Raab; a treaty concluded at Vasvar for a twenty years' truce, 183; after an attempt to relieve Candia with a large French force under the Duke de Navailles, the garrison is compelled to capitulate, but marches out with all the honours of war; a peace concluded between Venice and the Porte, which terminates that long-protracted war of twenty-five years for possession of the island, 184; the empire under the administration of Kupruli regains the summit of its power, 184; dies a few days after signing the treaty of Daoud, which closed the war between Poland and Turkey, having borne during fifteen years the heaviest burthen of the

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empire; after Sokolli, the first among the ministers who have directed the Ottoman Empire, 187.
Kupruli, Mustapha, *the Virtuous*, on his appointment as grand vizier, infuses more vigour into the government, and with the assistance of Tekeli the Turks recover almost all they had previously lost, 198; Belgrade retaken, to the great alarm of the Viennese, and divisions push on to Temesvar, Waradin, and even into Transylvania, but next year is completely defeated by Louis of Baden at Salankemen and slain, 199.
Kupruli Hassein, surnamed *the Wise*, nephew of Kupruli Mahommed, summoned to save the empire in great peril; Mustapha II. gives him the seals; by clever expedients provides for the most pressing needs, puts the army again in motion, which succeeds in driving the Austrians across the Save, 199; after the peace of Carlowitz, he comprehends the necessity of reforms, and follows, with regard to the Christians, the example of Kupruli *the Virtuous;* strives to recall the Moslems to the study and practice of their religion; re-establishes order in the finances and undertakes works of great public utility, 203.

Ladislas, King of Poland, owes the throne of Hungary to the heroic Hunyade; summoned by Cardinal Cesarini to tear up the treaty (1444) which placed Servia and Wallachia under the suzerainty of Hungary, 75; enters upon a crusade to destroy the Ottoman power; after devastating Bulgaria and besieging Varna, is slain by a Janissary in the battle of Varna, 76.
Lala Mustapha, former preceptor of Prince Bajazet, becomes confidant of his younger brother Selim and grand master of his court; plots to effect the ruin of the elder brother; undertakes to put arms into Bajazet's hands, and provokes him to send Selim an insulting letter, together with a distaff and female vestments, 149; Solyman, irritated, threatens Bajazet with disgrace, who takes up arms, but being conquered, flees into Persia; his extradition being demanded, the Shah remits him to the agents of Selim, who murder him with his five sons, thus securing the throne to Selim, who becomes sole heir of Solyman *the Great*, 150.
Lavalette despatched by Bonaparte to Ali Pacha, with a view to excite a revolt in Macedonia, 244.
Leczinski, Stanislas, elected king by the Poles, but displaced by Russia and Austria in favour of a son of Augustus II.; France promises assistance to the Poles, declares war against Austria, and incites the Porte to avenge the insult Russia had given her, 219; Stanislas driven out of Poland by the Russians, 219.
Leis, Yacoub Ben, founder of the Soffaride dynasty, the Khalifate of Bagdad loses Persia by his revolt; puts an end to the dynasty of the Taherites, rulers of Khorassan, 21.
Leopold I., Emperor of Germany; after the memorable victory of St Gothard, won by Montecuculli, over the Turks, the imperial cabinet, instead of pursuing that advantage which opened the road to most extensive conquests, surprises all Europe by making peace with the Porte, a treaty for a twenty years' truce being concluded a few days after at Vasvar; the Emperor abandons to the Turks all their conquests, and withdraws all his support from the party of Ragotski and Kemeni, thus abandoning Transylvania to Apafy, the nominee of the Porte, and makes the Sultan *a present* of 200,000 florins, 183; on the part of the Turks, the motive for concluding the truce of Vasvar was the necessity of carrying on the war with Venice, 184; through the fanatical persecution of Protestantism by the Austrian cabinet, a conspiracy is formed by certain Hungarian leaders, headed by Count Tekeli; the imperial forces are defeated and several towns captured, and the Austrian generals, Wurmb and Leslie, compelled to accept the truce he offers, 189; on Kara Mustapha laying siege to Vienna, Leopold, with his court, flees to Linz, 191; after the relief of Vienna by King John Sobieski and the Duke of Lorraine, the Emperor, instead of expressing his thanks and gratitude, receives those commanders with haughty and repulsive coldness; joins the *Holy League* against the Turks, 194; places Prince Eugene at the head of his army, who signally defeats the Turks near Zenta, 199; at the suggestion

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of Montecuculli, the Emperor enters into an alliance with Russia, 206; the treaty of Carlowitz cedes to Leopold Hungary and Transylvania, 201.

Louis of Baden, Margrave, with an imperialist army, overruns great part of Bosnia; after the successful campaign of 1689 against the Turks, he advises the continuance of the war, and carries it from Bosnia into Servia; inflicts several severe defeats upon the infidels; occupies the passes of the Balkans from the borders of Roumelia to the Herzegovina, and captures all the Danube fortresses from Widdin to Nicopolis, 198; opposes a Turkish army of more than double the number of his own, and completely defeats them at Salankemen, in which battle Mustapha Kupruli is slain, 199.

Louis XIV. (France) having captured Strasbourg, all Europe is in alarm, thinking that France and the Porte are agreed upon the conquest of Germany, 191; advises the Divan to continue the war against Austria, but the Porte, dissatisfied with the French king, listens to the solicitations of William of Orange, and accepts the mediation of England and Holland, which brings about the peace of Carlowitz, 201.

Loredano, the Venetian commander, delivers Lepanto from the Turks with his fleet, 106.

Lorraine, Duke Charles of, leads skilfully the army of the Emperor Leopold against the Turks at the siege of Vienna; takes advantage of the dilatoriness of the infidels to throw 12,000 men into the city, 191; joined by Sobieski, they attack and put to flight the innumerable battalions of Turkish cavalry, 193; with the aid of Sobieski inflicts another signal defeat upon the Turks, in which 15,000 are killed or drowned, 194; takes Buda by assault, which had been during 145 years in the hands of the Osmanli; having been joined by the Elector of Bavaria with a force of Germans, completely defeats the Turks in the battle of Mohacs; Slavonia reconquered by General Dünewald, one of his officers; follows up his success by reducing all Transylvania, and before the end of 1687, the whole of Hungary, with slight exception, is recovered by Austria, 195.

Loudon, the Russian general, takes the suburbs of Belgrade by storm and compels Osman Pacha and the garrison to capitulate; the chief hero of the campaign of 1789, 236.

MAHMOUD, Sultan of Delhi, his capital captured and burned by Timour, 61.

Mahmoud I., Sultan of Turkey, nephew of Achmet III., displaces his uncle by a revolt of the Janissaries, but the capital and empire remain for some time in the power of Patrona Khalil, a common Janissary, until assassinated under the eyes of the Sultan and his ministers, 217; his character and reign of twenty-four years, and sudden death, 224.

Mahmoud II., half-brother of Mustapha IV., succeeds on the deposition of that Sultan by the insurrection of Bairactar; determined that reform shall triumph, but advances with the greatest reserve and profound dissimulation, 250; during a conflagration caused by the revolted Janissaries, the rebels demand his deposition and the heads of his defenders; the Sultan, after effecting the escape of his chief ministers, causes his brother, Mustapha IV., to be strangled, and thus becomes inviolable as being the last descendant of Othoman, 252; instead of putting down the insurrection in Greece by vigorous measures, he treats the Greeks with moderation, to deprive Russia of any pretence for interfering, 267; issues a *hatti-cherif* for the reform of the Janissaries, whereupon they rise and plunder the palaces of three grandees, authors of the decree, 268; the Sultan, at the head of the bands remaining faithful to him, surrounds some 20,000 Janissaries, causes great numbers to be shot down by his artillery, and the greater part to be executed; the corps is now entirely abolished; finds himself compelled to submit to all the dictates of Russia regarding the points left undecided by the treaty of Bucharest, 269; after Ibrahim's successful campaign in Syria, the Sultan, trembling for Constantinople itself, implores the aid of Russia, as well as of England and France; Mehemet submits to mediation, by which Syria is assigned to him; the Sultan, indignant at being thus treated by the Western Powers, throws himself into the arms of Russia, and signs the treaty of Hunkiar Skelessi;

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encouraged by England and Russia, attempts to recover Syria, but the Turkish army is totally defeated at Nisib; the Sultan expires a few days after leaving his empire to his son, Abdul Medjid, then seventeen years of age, 273.
Mahmud of Ghizni, his alarm at the progress of the Turks, 27.
Mahommed, his tribe and family obtain the sovereignty of Mecca and the guardianship of the Caaba, 14; nations and countries subjugated by his followers; his rejection by Khosroes II., 15.
Mahommed I., Sultan, son of Bajazet, establishes himself at Amasia, 64; struggles with his brother Mousa for superiority in Asia; aids the Emperor Manuel to defend Constantinople; advances against Mousa and defeats him; becomes, by the death of his brothers, undisputed Sultan and sole master of the empire, 65; re-establishes order and peace interiorly after twelve years of anarchy and civil war, 66; in eight years of sway succeeds in effacing the traces of misrule left in the empire; his policy of peace; restores to the Greek Emperor the places Mousa had torn from him; renews the commercial treaty with the Venetians, and frees the princes of Wallachia and Servia from all tribute; represses the revolts of Prince Karaman and Djouneïd in Asia, and forces them to sue for pardon and peace, 66; despatches an expedition against the Duke of Naxos, Lord of the Cyclades—whence springs the first hostilities between Venice and the Ottomans; the war promptly terminated by a treaty ratified at Venice by a Turkish ambassador, the first who had appeared in Christendom; revolt of the Smyrna dervishes crushed by a sanguinary battle near Ephesus by Amurath, son of Mahommed, and Bajesid Pacha, 68; dies of apoplexy at Gallipoli; his death kept secret, and the mutinous Janissaries, deceived by a trick, defile unsuspectingly before his corpse, and permit the peaceful accession of his successor, 69.
Mahommed II., son of Amurath II., receives on his accession an embassy from the Greek Emperor, to whom he testifies his pacific intentions, and renews existing treaties with his Christian allies; concludes a truce with Hunyade, and crosses over into Asia to make war upon the Prince of Karaman, 80; on a threat from Constantine of setting Solyman's grandson, his captive, at liberty, the young Sultan determines to make an end of Constantinople; returns to Europe, and to starve out the city, builds a formidable fortress on the European shore of the Bosphorus; the Emperor terrified sends a humble embassy offering to pay tribute, and entreating that the country around may be spared; in answer the Sultan orders his spahis to feed their horses on the crops of the Greeks, through which a quarrel arises, which proves the beginning of war, 81; his ardour and restlessness in making preparations for the siege, prevent him from sleeping, 82; the Genoese of Galata treacherously enter into a treaty with the Sultan; invests Constantinople by land with 200,000 Osmanli, but at first little progress made, 83–4; the Sultan witnesses the disgraceful defeat of his fleet, and revenges the affront on the admiral, who is bastinadoed, deprived of his possessions, and exiled; singular project of the Sultan of conveying his vessels overland, 85; he promises life and liberty to the besieged if the city capitulated, to the Emperor peaceful possession of the Morea, but his offers are rejected, 86; orders a general assault, and takes the city by a stratagem, 87; inaugurates the reign of Islam in his new capital; exposes the head of the Emperor Constantine Palæologus upon the square of the Augusteon, puts 2000 inhabitants to the sword, and has many thousands sold into slavery; supplies the vacancy thus created by a Turkish population, 89; celebrates his triumph by orgies and bloody executions; in the consolidation of his empire is guided by politic and enlightened counsels, 90; his renewal of the Greek patriarchate gives rise to the population of Greek nobles called Phanariots; drafts families from Servia, the Morea, Genoese colonies, Trebizonde, Sinope, and Adrianople, to repeople the capital; confiscates the lands of the great Greek families, and transforms them into *timars;* the rapid development of Ottoman power the work of less than thirty years; Greece, Wallachia, Servia, Bosnia, Albania, the Crimea, and principal isles of the Archipelago, completely subjected; the Turkish

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empire very nearly attains its definitive limits in Europe, 91; punishes his vizier, Khalil Pacha, convicted of connivance with the Greeks, with death; makes war upon Servia, seizes upon Ostrowitz, but miscarries before Semendria; his army defeated by the Kral Georges, assisted by Hunyade, who obtain a truce; recommences the war, and besieges Belgrade; is wounded and raises the siege, leaving his dead and all his artillery under the walls; the conquest of Servia completed, and it is reduced to a province of the Ottoman Empire; the subjection of Greece consummated, 93; the Morea frightfully devastated, its inhabitants pitilessly massacred, and the Turks rule undividedly all the Greek peninsula, and put the isles of the Archipelago to ransom; Scanderbeg having defeated successively three armies, the Sultan offers him peace, and leaves him in tranquil possession of Epirus and Albania, 94; expedition against Trebizonde and Sinope; the Comnenes made prisoners and put to death; the Empress Helena, having witnessed the massacre of her children dies from grief and misery, 95; attempts the reduction of Bosnia and Wallachia, and overruns the Herzegovina; disguised as a monk enters Bosnia to inspect its fortresses, is discovered, brought before King Stephen, and honourably dismissed, 96; Jaicza captured, and all Bosnia falls to the Turks; tries to get rid of his enemy Wlad by cunning, who seizes the Sultan's envoys and empales them, 97; exasperated at this, re-ascends the Danube, takes Kilia and Braila, and pursues Wlad, who surprises the Sultan's camp, and nearly takes him prisoner; nexts directs his march upon Bucharest, and is horror-stricken at the sight of 20,000 Turks and Bulgarians empaled by Wlad on the plain of Prælatu; definitively unites Wallachia to the empire by establishing Radul, brother of Wlad, in his stead, 98; Pius II. exhorts the Sultan to be baptized, and offers to salute him as Emperor of the East; war with the Venetians; marches against Albania, but compelled by Scanderbeg to retire, 103; Venice menaced by the Osmanli, 104; Croatia, Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria invaded and ravaged by savage bands of Turks; seeking to compel Stephen IV. of Moldavia to pay tribute, an Ottoman army of 100,000 thoroughly routed by 40,000 Moldavians; Kaffa taken by treason, and great part of the Crimea falling to the Turks, the Sultan instals there Mengli Sheraï as his vassal and tributary; resuming the war in Moldavia, is again defeated with loss of 30,000 men by Stephen IV.; an attempt on Croïa repulsed, and Lepanto being delivered by Loredano, a treaty is made with Venice, 106; atrocities in the Crimea; after dreadful incursions into Slavonia, Hungary, and Transylvania, the Turks sustain a memorable defeat on the Brotfeld, 107; three of the Ionian Islands wrested from the despot of Arta; an attempt to take Rhodes by surprise repulsed by Pierre d'Aubusson, 107; death, character, and institutions of Mahommed II., 108.

Mahommed III., son of Amurath III., by the Sultana Baffa, the Venetian, the last heir of the Turkish throne who enjoyed before accession an independent government; his accession marked by the most horrible application of the fratricidal law of Mahommed II.; he orders his nineteen brothers to be strangled; the first campaign highly unfavourable to the Turks; Sinan, the vizier, attempting to gain possession of Wallachia, is driven back with great slaughter by Prince Michael, the Woïwode; the Turkish arms equally unfortunate in Hungary; Count Mansfeld takes the important town of Gran; Wissegrad and Waitzen, and several places on the Danube, are lost, and the unwarlike Sultan is compelled to lead his troops in person; commences with great pomp an expedition against Erlau; on its capture, in spite of the capitulation, the garrison of 5000 men is cut down by the Janissaries, 162; the Archduke Maximilian, and Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, hasten to recover Erlau, and a bloody battle which lasts three days is fought with the Turks on the plain of Keresztes; on the third day the Christians, seized with a panic, flee in disorder, Maximilian being one of the first; this signal defeat creates the greatest alarm and anxiety throughout Europe; the two next campaigns highly adverse to the Turks; the operations of the seraskier so unfortunate as to cost

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him his dismissal and his life; the war carried on feebly for six years longer with varying success; even the death of the Sultan had little effect upon it; Mahommed III. was quietly succeeded by his son, Achmet I., then scarcely fifteen years of age, 164.

Mahommed IV., son of the Sultan Ibrahim, succeeds him when scarcely seven years old; at first the state is governed by the women and eunuchs, who fill up the highest posts at their pleasure, 180; his long reign of forty years may be divided into three periods—the first period filled with seditions and reverses; in the second Ahmed Kupruli re-establishes the affairs of the empire; in the third troubles recommence, and the Ottoman power, shaken within and without, totters in its decline, 178; after the murder of Ibrahim the Porte experiences anew the domination of the soldiery; the Janissaries at first suppress an insurrection of Itchoglans and spahis, but make the young Sultan pay dearly for their guardianship; during the war against Venice they compromise the honour of the Crescent by revolts in presence even of the enemy; they refuse to continue the siege of Candia, and constrain a cessation of the operations; another sedition costs the life of the Sultan's grandfather; irritated at the delay in the payment of their arrears, they call for death to the members of the Divan; the Sultan obeys, delivers to the executioner his dearest servants, and the whole administration is overthrown; the grand vizier next deposed; revolts break out in the Asiatic provinces; the governor of Anatolia is overcome and slain by the rebels; so long as internal anarchy prevails, the Sultan obtains no advantage without the realm; the Admiral Moncenigo obtains a complete victory over the Turkish fleet, and by a strict blockade of the Hellespont Constantinople is almost famished; Mahommed Kupruli being made grand vizier, restores order and discipline, 179; suppresses a military mutiny by capital punishments, and hangs the Greek patriarch accused of treason; the war against the Venetians vigorously resumed; the isles of Tenedos and Lemnos reconquered, but these successes are balanced by a victory obtained by the Republic near Milo; diplomatic rupture with France caused by De la Haye, the ambassador, giving offence to the new vizier, Kupruli, 180; certain despatches from the Venetians to the ambassador having been delivered up to the vizier by a renegade, Kupruli orders De la Haye to repair to Adrianople; the latter being ill, is represented by his son, who on refusing to decipher the despatches, is maltreated and thrown into a dungeon, whilst the secretaries and interpreters of the embassy are menaced with torments and even death; on Mazarin demanding amends and the dismissal of the vizier, Kupruli receives the envoy superciliously, and threatens to send away De la Haye ignominiously; the rupture seems complete, but Mazarin refuses to involve himself in an impolitic struggle with Turkey, 182; the Sultan, having remonstrated in vain with the King of Poland against his invasion of the Ukraine, declares war against him, and, in conjunction with the Tartars of the Crimea, besieges and captures Kaminiec and the city of Lemberg; the king sues for peace, but only obtains it by the disgraceful conditions of the treaty of Bucsacs; the Poles refusing to ratify the treaty, the Sultan at the head of his army retakes the way to Poland, again captures Kaminiec; the Tartar Khan, serving as a mediator between Sobieski and the Sultan, a treaty is signed at Daoud, 187; a war disastrous to the Porte waged with the Russians and Cossacks for five years is terminated by the treaty of Radzin, 189; a formal treaty entered into with Tekeli, and several conquests effected against the Austrians; the Sultan having marched with a large army to Belgrade, there transfers it to Kara Mustapha, who rashly resolves to besiege Vienna; the Turks sustain a signal defeat, flee in disorder, abandoning their camp and baggage and a booty estimated at fifteen million crowns, 193; the Sultan, enraged at a succession of reverses, causes Kara Mustapha to be beheaded; the league against the Turks called the *Holy War* ensues, lasting till the peace of Carlowitz; fresh reverses in Hungary, and Buda taken by the Duke of Lorraine, 194; Athens besieged by the Venetians,

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and its Acropolis partially destroyed by the explosion of the Turkish powder magazine, 196; the fall of Athens and disasters in Hungary create wide-spread discontent; the army marches to Adrianople, and demands the deposition of the Sultan in favour of his brother Solyman; Mahommed IV. is thrown into prison, where he dies disregarded five years afterwards, 196.

Mahommed Effendi, his embassy to the court of Louis XV. to present firmans which gave validity to the demands of France concerning the Holy Places, 216.

Malek Shah, son of Alp Arslan, the Seljukian Empire attains its highest pitch of splendour under; falls to pieces at his death, 29.

Mamal, second son of Palæologus, delivers up Thessalonica to the Ottomans, 49.

Mameluke dynasty, the, established in Egypt since the middle of the 13th century; assailed by Selim I.; Tumanbeg, the Sultan, subdued, and put to death at Cairo, 118.

Mamoun, illegitimate son of Haroun Al-Raschid, assumes the title of Khalif after defeat of his brother Amin, and besieges him in Bagdad; Amin's head sent to him by his general Taher, 19; his munificent patronage of letters; his singular death, 19.

Manuel, son of Palæologus I., agrees to abdicate the Byzantine throne in favour of John, son of Andronicus, and content himself with the Morea, 59; recovers the throne, and enters into an alliance with Solyman, son of Bajazet I., who surrenders to him a portion of the Ottoman conquests in Europe, 64; Mousa, brother of Solyman, having laid siege to Constantinople, the Emperor invites Mahommed, Mousa's brother, to aid him, 65; the places recently torn from him by Mousa restored by Mahommed I. on his accession, 66; offended by the Sultan's refusal to confide his two brothers to his care, he releases from prison the pretender Mustapha, the latter engaging by treaty to restore to the Greeks, Gallipoli, Thessaly, etc., 70; essays in vain to disarm the resentment of Amurath, who besieges Constantinople, 71; incites the Sultan's youngest brother to rebellion, 72.

Massoud, son of Mahmud of Ghizni, utterly defeated at Zendecan by Togrul Beg, 27.

Mavrocordato, a phanariot, the principal leader of the revolution in Greece, 267.

Maximilian, the Archduke, hastens with Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, to recover Erlau, and fights a sanguinary battle with the Turks for three days on the plain of Keresztes; the Christians sustain great loss, seized with a panic, and take to disorderly flight; Maximilian, one of the first to fly, escapes to Kaschan, and Sigismund retreats through Tokay into Transylvania, 163.

Mazarin, Jules, Prime Minister of Louis XIV., his wily policy alike towards the Venetians and Turks; beholds with complacency the perils of the Venetians, but is unwilling that the Turks should dominate the Mediterranean by the possession of Candia; sends an ambassador extraordinary to offer the Divan the mediation of France, which is haughtily rejected; offers to the Venetians the co-operation of the French navy on such conditions that the senate refuses the offer; sends to Venice a subsidy of 10,000 crowns, but secretly, and in his own name; sends nine ships to fight under the Venetian flag, and allows more than 50,000 soldiers to be recruited in France, and accept the pay of Venice, 177; anxious to prevent a diplomatic rupture arising out of the misunderstanding between the vizier and the French ambassador, sends a letter from Louis XIV., demanding amends and the dismissal of Kuprull; the envoy, received superciliously, is unable to obtain an audience of the Sultan, and returns with his letters; Mazarin recalls De la Haye, and entrusts the affairs of France at Constantinople to Roboly, a merchant, who remains in charge; urged by England, Holland, and Austria, to declare war, he refuses to involve himself in an impolitic struggle with Turkey, but sends 4000 Frenchmen to Candia and prepares to aid the Emperor against the Ottomans; a comparison of Mazarin with Kuprull, 182.

Mehemet Ali, Viceroy of Egypt, cherishing hopes of the whole

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Turkish succession, despatches an army to the Morea under his adopted son Ibrahim, who defeats the Greeks and takes Navarino; Missolonghi taken after a six months' siege, 269; not content with Candia as a reward of his services to the Sultan in Greece, he covets Syria; despatches an army thither under Ibrahim, who captures St Jean d'Acre, Damascus, and Tripoli, and occupies great part of the country; defeats a large army under Hussein Pacha, and enters Aleppo and Antioch; the grand vizier, Redschid Pacha, who attempts to oppose his progress, is defeated and captured at Konieh, 272; on the death of Mahmoud II., the French wish the Osmanli sceptre to be transferred to Mehemet, but that proposition is opposed by England as well as Russia, 273; Achmet Fewzi, the capudan-pacha, surrenders the fleet to the rebellious viceroy, 274; quarrel between the Porte and the viceroy, 275; refuses to open to England a route to India by the Red Sea or the Euphrates; the Sultan grants Mehemet the hereditary possession of Egypt, and tenure for life of the pachalic of St Jean d'Acre, 276; the coalesced Powers threaten to depose him and take up arms against him; he is summoned by England to evacuate Syria, and on his refusal Beyrout is attacked, which Solyman Pacha evacuates and joins Ibrahim; the allies besiege St Jean d'Acre, and in a few hours the arsenal explodes, killing one-half of the garrison and destroying the town, which proves the ruin of Mehemet's hopes; Admiral Napier wrests from him a treaty which reduces him to the possession of Egypt; he evacuates Syria, Arabia, and Candia, and gives up the Ottoman fleet, 277; the quarrel terminated by a treaty concluded between the four Powers and France (1841), which guaranteed the closing of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus to ships of war of all nations, 278.

Mengli Sherai, son of Devlet, installed Khan of the Crimea by Mahommed II. as his vassal and tributary, 106.

Menschikoff, Prince, sent by Nicholas I. on a special embassy to Constantinople to demand the exclusive protection of all members of the Greek Church in Turkey; he delivers his message to the Divan with marks of the greatest contempt; after handing in an *ultimatum*, departs with a significant threat, 280; takes up a position on the river Alma, and invites a party of ladies from Sebastopol to come and behold the destruction of the enemy; is defeated with the loss of 8000 men, 288.

Michael, King of Poland, invades the Ukraine to hinder the Cossacks throwing themselves into the arms of the Osmanli; refusing to obey the mandate of Mahommed IV., that Sultan, in conjunction with the Tartars of the Crimea, besieges Kaminiec, which capitulates, and Lemberg being taken also, Michael sues for peace, and obtains it by the disgraceful treaty of Bucsacs, 187.

Midhat Pacha, governor of Bagdad, represents Austrian influence; succeeds Mahmoud Pacha as grand vizier; the reason for his short sway; prepares a constitution consisting of comprehensive clauses; his sudden dismissal and exile quickly follows the breaking up of the conference, 297.

Miridites, the, with the Archbishop of Durazzo, head a conspiracy against Bajazet II., 113.

Mirza Mahommed, Sultan, grandson of Timour, pillages and destroys Broussa, Nicæa, and other places in Asia Minor, 63.

Moctader, the Khalif, his nominal reign; twice deposed and twice restored by the Turkish guards; his magnificent court, 22.

Mohacs, the sanguinary battle of, 130.

Moncenigo, the Venetian admiral, obtains a complete victory over the Turkish fleet in the Dardanelles; seizes upon Tenedos, Samothracia, and Lemnos, and by a strict blockade almost famishes Constantinople, 179; loses his life in an indecisive battle fought near the Hellespont, 180.

Montassem, Khalif of Bagdad, forms a body-guard of Turkish mercenaries, 16; retires in disgust from Bagdad and founds Samara, 19; becomes the chief agent in the destruction of the khalifate, 20.

Montasser, Khalif of Bagdad, succeeds to the throne by the murder of his father, Motavakel, 20.

Montecuculli, commander-in-chief of the army of Leopold I. (Germany), succeeds Count de Strozzi in Hungary, and arrests the tide of Mussul-

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man invasion; defeats the Turks in the memorable battle of St Gothard, in which they are utterly routed, and more than 10,000 of them slain or drowned in the Raab, 183.
Mostain, Khalif of Bagdad, put to death by the Turkish body-guards, 21.
Motavakel, Khalif of Bagdad, his persecution both of Jews and Christians, 20.
Mouza, son of Bajazet I., establishes himself at Brousa, 64; struggles with his brother Mahommed for superiority in Asia, and with his brother Soliyman in Europe; is defeated, but with a recruited army is welcomed at Adrianople, and on the flight and death of Soliyman takes possession of the throne; effects some conquests in the Byzantine dominions, and lays siege to Constantinople; compelled to raise the siege, and, Mahommed having advanced against him, he sustains a total defeat and dies in flight, 65.
Münich, general-in-chief of the Russian forces, seizes upon Azof, Oczakof, and Kilburn; penetrates into the Steppes, but compelled to retreat with great loss; his despatch stating that "the Christians of the Ottoman Empire look upon the Czarina as their legitimate sovereign," 222; storms and captures the Turkish camp at Slawutschane, and takes Chocsim; passes the Pruth and enters Jassy, where the Bejars of Moldavia signify their submission; his career arrested by the peace of Belgrade, 223.
Murad V., his brief ten days' reign, 296.
Mustapha, a pretender to the throne, giving himself out to be the fourth son of Bajazet I., supported by Marcea, Wolwode of Wallachia, and Djouneïd, invades Thessaly, 68; conquered near Thessalonica, and kept prisoner by the Emperor Manuel, 69, on the accession of Amurath II. is released and incited by Manuel to rebel against that Sultan; takes Gallipoli at the head of a Greek army, and thence, accompanied by Djouneïd, marches upon Adrianople; is confronted by Bajezid Pacha, Amurath's general, whose troops all pass over to the pretender's side and massacre Bajezid; crosses the straits to encounter the forces of Amurath; deserted by Djouneïd and his army, he flees to Lampsacus and thence to Gallipoli, 70; is pursued by Amurath, and defeated; flees to Adrianople, whence he robs the treasury and resumes his flight towards Wallachia; is seized upon by his followers, brought back to Adrianople, and hanged upon a tower of that city by Amurath II., 71.
Mustapha Pacha, his rivalry with Sinan Pacha for the vizierate; on the seals being given by Amurath III. to Sinan, he dies some days after either of grief or suicide, 150.
Mustapha I., the imbecile brother of Achmet I., is raised from a dungeon to the throne; his pastime to throw gold to the fishes of the Bosphorus; after three months' possession of the sceptre, is led back to prison, 168; on the murder of Osman, is once more set upon the throne; after being for fifteen months the plaything of the soldiery, is deposed in favour of Amurath, eldest son of Achmet, 172.
Mustapha II., on succeeding his brother Achmet II. as Sultan, energetically heads his army, crosses the Danube, captures several places, and defeats the imperialists at Bega, but is in turn defeated by Prince Eugene near Zenta, with the loss of 20,000 men, the grand vizier slain, and the Sultan put to flight; gives the seals to Kupruli Hussein, who enables the army to put itself again in motion against the Austrians, 199; after the death of Kupruli Hussein, an insurrection having broken out, the troops fraternise with the rebels and depose the Sultan, who cedes the throne to his brother Achmet III., 204.
Mustapha III., son of Achmet III., succeeds Osman III.; his character, 224; infamously deceived by Catherine II. (Russia) in the affairs of Poland, 226; anxious to avenge himself upon Russia, but is helpless owing to the condition of his armies and finances; on the capture of Cracow by the Russians, war is finally decided on; Obreskoff, the Russian resident, arrested and confined in the Seven Towers, 227; his death has little influence on the course of events, 231.
Mustapha IV., son of Abdul Hamed, too young at his father's death to ascend the throne, succeeds his uncle, Selim III., deposed, 248; scarcely enjoys the throne a year

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ere he is dethroned in an insurrection headed by Mustapha Bairactar, Pacha of Rutschuk, and flung into the same prison Selim III. had tenanted; strangled by order of his half-brother, Mahmoud II., 250.

NACHMOFF, the Russian admiral, destroys the Turkish fleet at Sinope, 283.

Nacouh Pacha proposes to Achmet I. to purchase the vizierate; points out to him the general demoralisation of the public service, 167.

Nadir Shah, lieutenant of Thamas Shah of Persia, overthrows Echref, who had usurped the power of Mir Mahmoud, 217; invades the Ottoman dominions, and by his successes enfeebles the Porte, 221.

Nami, grand vizier of Mustapha II., endeavours to finish the work of Kuprulli, but displeases the Ulema and Janissaries, who revolt and depose the Sultan, 204.

Napier, Admiral, wrests a treaty from Mehemet Ali, which reduces him to the possession of Egypt, and compels him to evacuate Syria, Arabia, and Candia, and deliver up the Ottoman fleet, 277; accompanied by a French squadron, he proceeds with the British fleet into the Baltic, but the Russian fleet keeps in port, and after the capture of Bomarsund, the allied fleet quits the Baltic, 291.

Nassouff Bassa of Natolia, letter addressed to him touching the schisms of the Christian Church, 257.

Navailles, Duke de, attempts to relieve Candia with a large French force, but fails, and the garrison is forced to capitulate, 184.

Navarino, the allied fleets of England, France, and Russia, almost totally destroy the Turko-Egyptian fleet in the harbour of, 270.

Nemania, Stephen, recognised by the Greek emperors as independent Prince of Servia, and becomes founder of a dynasty which lasts 300 years, 52.

Neuperg, Austrian envoy, commissioned, after the total defeat of the Austrians at Krozka, to treat with the Porte for peace; signs preliminaries engaging to surrender Belgrade and Sabacz, to evacuate Servia, Austrian Wallachia, and Orsova, to raze Mehadia and the new works at Belgrade, 223.

Nicholas I., Emperor of Russia, disputes the right of other Powers to intermeddle with his policy regarding Turkey; signs a secret convention recognising the new Greek state, but which was to pay yearly tribute to the Porte, 263; declares war against Turkey, and the Russians, under Wittgenstein, cross the Pruth, capture Braila and Varna, but are unable to pass the Balkans; this is effected in the following summer by General Diebitsch, who takes Shumla, and appears before Adrianople, which surrenders, and the Porte signs the peace of Adrianople; in the second campaign (1829) Turkey is invaded by an army of 150,000 men, but only 14,000 reach Adrianople; Russia is released from her perilous position by a fresh treaty, 271; the Czar's design against the "Sick Man"—proposes to the British Government a partition of the "Sick Man's" spoils; the offer rejected and then made to France with the like result; and the two western nations unite to oppose the designs of Nicholas, 278; dispute concerning the Holy Places, 279; despatches Prince Menschikoff to demand the exclusive protection of all members of the Greek Church in Turkey, 280; wishes to form a triple alliance with Austria and Prussia, but only obtains their neutrality, and engages that his troops should not cross the Danube; the western Powers declare war against him, 284; his sudden death, 290.

OBRENOVITSCH, Milosch, acknowledged supreme Knes of all Servia; constant intrigues with the Pachs; daily becomes more and more tyrannical, and thus a general dissension is maintained in Servia; the peasants appeal to him against the abuses of the minor chiefs; they are arrested, and subjected to the greatest horrors, and in more than one instance empaled by his orders, 263; the peasants rise in force against him, but aided by the Turks, he crushes the revolt promptly, and a general slaughter ensues as ruthless as the worst atrocities of the Janissaries, 263; elected prince by the Servian chiefs, and the Porte confirms his rank with succession to his heirs in European fashion, 263; accused of

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being "worse than a Turkish pacha," the Porte and Russia agree in declaring him unfit for his position; he sets them at defiance, 264; the Porte gives the nation a charter of constitution defining the prince's power and the people's rights; he crosses over to Semlin and plots an insurrection against the charter, but fails to regain his absolute position; is forced to abdicate in favour of his son, 265.
Oghuz-Khan, common ancestor of all the Turks; the legend of his six sons, 13.
Omar Pacha forces the passage of the Ingur, and carries the Russian entrenchments, 291.
Omladina, the secret society known as the, 254; the bond of brotherhood established by Methodius and Cyrillus merges into the Omladina, 256.
Ommiades, the, usurp the western provinces of the Eastern Khalifate, 17.
Orchan, son of Othoman, appoints his brother Aladdin vizier, transfers the seat of government to Broussa, 40; defeats the Emperor Andronicus the younger, and captures Nicæa; his series of conquests, 42; his attempt upon Constantinople vigorously repulsed by John Cantacuzene, 43; his marriage with the latter's daughter the bond of an important alliance; aiding the Genoese against the Venetians causes an open rupture with Cantacusene; sides with John Palæologus against the latter; afterwards sends a body of forces under his son Solyman to aid Cantacuzene against Palæologus, 44; the Ottoman dominions extended from the Propontis to the Danube; as a lawgiver and author of the constitution, regarded as the Numa of the Ottomans, 45.
Orloff, Count Alexis, his plans for the partition of Turkey, and restoration of the Greeks to independence; concludes at Pisa a formal treaty with the Mainotes and other tribes of the Morea and Roumelia; fleets prepared at Cronstadt, Archangel, and Revel, which under his conduct were to attempt the capture of Constantinople; the British ministry approves the project, 229; the Mainotes rise, but no plan of a campaign being arranged, the whole degenerates into a marauding expedition, and the Greeks are abandoned to their fate; a victory over the Turkish fleet near Chios, wholly due to British officers, the honours and emoluments thereof fall to Orloff, who prevents them forcing the passage of the Dardanelles, 230.
Orthoguel, son of Soliman-Shah, renders aid in battle to Alaeddin, the Seljukide Sultan, against the Mongols and Greeks; is rewarded with territory which becomes the cradle of the Ottoman power, 32.
Osman, or Othoman, founder of the Ottoman dynasty; its grandeur said to have been miraculously announced to him; his dream, 32; marries the beautiful Malkatoun, 33; founds a new empire upon the ruins of the Seljukian and Byzantine dynasties; stains the commencement of his reign by the murder of his uncle Deindar, 38; his victorious career, character, and death, 39–40.
Osman II., eldest son of Achmet I., saluted Padischah by the venal troops; his character, 167; the success of Iskander Pacha incites him to attempt the conquest of Poland; marches against Sigismund III.; his first assault on the Poles successful, but a mutiny breaks out, and the Sultan retreats; his scheme to destroy the degenerate Janissaries prematurely betrayed, 170; they revolt and attack the Seraglio, drag forth Mustapha from his dungeon, and salute him Padischah; Constantinople is abandoned to plunder and devastation; the youthful Sultan, dragged to the Seven Towers, is there strangled—the first Ottoman Emperor assassinated by his subjects, 171.
Osman III., brother of Mahmoud I., his tranquil reign of two years, 224.
Osman Pacha sustains the honour of the Ottoman arms in Daghestan; received on his return with extraordinary honour by Amurath III., and named vizier and seraskier, 159.
Osman Passvan Ogiu embraces the cause of the Janissaries, opposes the new reforms, and for a long time engages in open rebellion against the Porte, 259.
Osmanli, a branch of the Turks, 12; descended from the tribe of Kayi, 13.
Otho, son of King Louis of Bavaria, accepts the throne of Greece, and lands at Nauplia, 272.
Ottoman Empire, its rise upon the ruins of the Seljukian and Byzantine dynasties, 38; its decadence, 164; its condition after the capture of Candia, 184; its deplorable state at the

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Ottoman Turks, the, their origin; nucleus of the Osmanli date from the 14th century, 9; their conversion to Islamism, 13; when permanently established in Constantinople, 15; their first passage into Europe and early contests with the Greeks, 43; progress of their arms, 48.
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Ouroseh V., the Serb empire dismembered under the attacks of his vassals, 52.
Ouschakoff, Russian admiral, entirely defeats the Turkish fleet near Sebastopol, 237; again defeats them off Kara Burium, 238.

Paget, Sir Arthur, English ambassador, acquaints the Porte with the secret articles of Tilsit, and the abandonment of their interests by Bonaparte, 248.
Palæologus I., John, Emperor of Constantinople, his struggle with John Cantacuzene; his troops defeated by Solyman, son of Orchan, 44; sends his son Theodore to serve in the Ottoman camp as proof of his submission to Amurath I., 48; conspiracy of his eldest son Andronicus with Sandshi, son of Amurath, to depose their respective fathers, 49; is dethroned by his son Andronicus with the assistance of Bajazet; is restored by the latter under humiliating conditions, 56; forms a plan of fortifying Constantinople, but required to abandon the project by Bajazet; dies, leaving his son Manuel in possession of the throne, 58.
Palæologus II., John, finding himself incapable of defending Thessalonica, cedes that city to the Venetians, 73.
——, Constantine, 89.
——, Thomas, 113.
Patrona, Khalil, a Janissary, excites that corps to revolt against Ibrahim Pacha; they demand that the grand vizier, the mufti, and the capudan-pacha should be delivered up to them, who are put to death, and the Sultan Achmet III. acknowledges as Padischah his nephew Mahmoud I.; the capital and empire remain for some time in the power of Patrona, who dictates his will to the Divan, 217; is got rid of by treason, and assassinated in an ambush; his partisans rise in arms, but their insurrection is stifled in the blood of thousands, 218.
Peter *the Great* (Russia) possesses as yet only a barbarian state, without ports, armies, or finances; Sweden, Poland, and Turkey interdict from Russia a European existence; he intrigues throughout Greece, stirs up the people of Slav race, opposing secretly the influence of France over the Oriental Christians, and undermining the Ottoman Empire, 206; extends his projects upon the Black Sea; fortifies Azof and builds ships there; complains of the hospitality accorded to his enemy, Charles XII., by the Porte, and demands the extradition of Mazeppa, hetman of the Cossacks, who had delivered up the Ukraine to Charles XII.; the Porte declares war on the appearance of a squadron in the Black Sea, with an embassy from the Czar; he reckons in vain upon the artifices of his ambassador, Tolstoi, upon the corruption of the viziers, the dilatoriness of the Divan, and the weakness of Achmet III., 207; his emissaries excite everywhere through Moldavia and Wallachia the inhabitants to revolt; the hospodars nominated by the Porte are sold to Russia; guarantees to the Moldo-Wallachians the exclusive exercise of the Greek religion, and enfranchisement from Turkish domination; a prophecy, found in the tomb of Constantine, circulated at Jerusalem, announcing that the Turks would be driven out of Europe by the Russian nation; Achmet III. declares war against the Czar, and imprisons Tolstoi in the Seven Towers; Peter despatches a division under Scheremetoff to the Pruth, which he joins himself in the spring of 1711; on crossing the Pruth, finds that he has been completely deceived, and is soon compelled to retreat; is overtaken and hemmed in by the Turks; his imminent peril, unable to retreat or advance; is extricated therefrom by the energy and intelligence of the Empress Catherine I., 209; in this moment of awful suspense the Czar displays his great qualities; signs the capitulation of the Pruth, 210; solicits modifications in the treaties of Falksen, Adrianople, and Constantinople, and obtains a new treaty con-

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taining two remarkable articles—the one relating to Poland, the other to the Holy Places, 214; continues covertly his enterprises against Sweden and Poland, and attempts to break up the old amity existing between France and Turkey; the effect of the Czar's visit to the court of Louis XV. in its relation to the Porte, 215; the war between Russia and Sweden terminated by the treaty of Nystadt; profits by the civil war in Persia to seize upon the countries adjacent to the Caspian Sea, 216.

Petrowitsch, George, called Kara George (*Black George*), conducts an insurrection in Servia of very formidable character, 246; sets on foot a general rising of all the Servian chiefs who had escaped the massacre of the Janissaries; every Turkish house burnt, and every Turk put to the sword; he is elected chief commander, 261; through miserable disputes he flies in disgust across the Danube, and Servia is soon restored to the possession of the Turks; he is invited to return, and arrives at Smederova, 262; through the enmity of Milosch he is murdered in cold blood in his sleep, 263.

Piri Pacha, grand vizier of Selim I. and Solyman *the Great;* Selim's cruel reply to Piri's request to give him notice when the Sultan wished to get rid of him, 120; invests Belgrade, 121; is deposed in favour of Solyman's favourite, Ibrahim, 124.

Pius II., Pope, exhorts Mahommed II. to be baptized, and in reward offers to salute him Emperor of the East, 103.

Poniatowski, Count, assists Charles XII. (Sweden) in inciting the Porte to hostilities against Russia; they succeed in their efforts, and Achmet III. declares war against the Czar, 208; despatches a messenger from the Turkish camp to Charles XII., summoning him to behold the consummation of the Czar's ruin, 210; in conjunction with Charles XII. and the Khan of Tartary the ruin of the vizier Baltadschi is effected, 211.

Potemkin, Prince, favourite and minister of Catherine II. (Russia), his designs against the Crimea; compels the Porte to restore the Khan Girai, whom it had deposed; supports Girai with an army under Suvaroff, 232; made governor-general of the conquered provinces of the Black Sea, and honoured with the pompous name of "the Taurian," and grand admiral of the Black Sea, 233; crosses the Bog and invests Oczakoff; the Turkish fleet totally destroyed, and Oczakoff captured after a furious resistance—40,000 persons being slain, 235; closes the campaign by the capture of Bender, 236; in next campaign captures Kilia Nova, 237; conducts unwillingly negotiations for peace at Jassy, in hopes of obtaining Moldavia and Wallachia for himself; is seized with a malignant fever and dies on his road homewards in the arms of his niece, the Countess Branicka, 238.

Radhi, Al, Khalif of Bagdad, the temporal power of the khalifs terminates with him, 23.

Raditschevitsch, Stephen, to keep up the Servian language and promote its culture, forms "a society of literary men," which has since gone over to the Omladina; Prince Michael's uncle heads a conspiracy against him, and he is forced to seek refuge in Belgrade, 265.

Ragazzoni, his description of the depression and degradation of the Christians in Turkey in 1571, 166.

Ragoczy, leader of malcontent Hungarians, aims at obtaining the principality of Transylvania, and even the title of King of Hungary; incited by the agents of the Porte to insurrection against Austria, 218.

Repnin, Prince, succeeds Romanzoff in command of the Russian army in the Ukraine, and defeats the Turks on their crossing the Danube at Ismail, 236; defeats the grand vizier, Yussuf Pacha, near Maczyn, 238.

Romanzoff, commander of the Russian army, after defeating the Turks on the Larga, gains a decisive victory over them on the Kaghul, 228.

Roumains become tributary to the Hungarians, 53; regain their independence under Radoul *the Black*, but fall again under Hungarian domination, 54.

Roxalana, a Russian slave, whom Solyman *the Great*, by pre-eminent distinction, acknowledges as his legitimate wife (Khourum Sultana); obtains an extraordinary ascendency over him; successfully strives for the succession to the throne of her son Selim; the Persian campaign

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undertaken at her instigation, in order to display the military talents of her son-in-law, Rustem, made commander-in-chief, 148.

Ruffin, French *chargé d'affaires*, at the news of the invasion of Egypt, finds himself in a most critical position, tries at first to deny the expedition, then to explain it; he is not listened to, 242; is placed in confinement, together with all the members of the legation, 244.

Rustem Pacha, third vizier of Solyman *the Great*, becomes son-in-law to that Sultan by marriage with the daughter of the Sultana Roxalana, and is raised from favour to favour to the highest dignity of the Empire; is made commander-in-chief to conduct the Persian campaign; renders his benefactress a repulsive service, 148.

Samanes, Ismail, founder of the Samanides, defeats Amer, the Soffaride, whose dominions are bestowed upon him by the Khalif, 22.

Samanides, dynasty of the, rule the north of Persia; their power yields to the ascendency of Mahmud of Ghizni, 22.

Saturdschi, the seraskier, his campaign of 1598 so highly adverse to the Turkish arms as to cost him his dismissal and his life, 163.

Sava, prince of Servia, founds its patriarchate, 52.

Scanderbeg—see Castriot, George.

Sebastiani, the French general, endeavours to incite Selim III. against the English and Russians; denounces the perfidy of Russia in keeping possession of the Ionian Islands, 245; calls upon the Porte to close the Bosphorus against all Russian and English ships of war; at his instance the Sultan deposes the Princes Morusi and Ypsilanti, hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, 246; puts Constantinople into such a posture of defence as to accelerate the retreat of Duckworth, 247.

Selim I. *the Inflexible* son of Bajazet II., raised to the throne by the Janissaries, he distributes 50 ducats per man amongst them on his accession; Ahmed, his brother, endeavouring to assert his claims by arms, is defeated, captured, and executed; and that he may have no rival near the throne, puts to death his younger brother Korkud, and causes five of his nephews to be slain before his eyes at Broussa, 117; conquers in two years northern Mesopotamia and a considerable part of Persia; next reduces Syria and turns his arms against Egypt; subdues Tumanbeg, Sultan of the Mamelukes, and puts him to death at Cairo; the rapidity and magnitude of these conquests excite the alarm of the European potentates; Venice and Hungary conciliate the Porte, and renew the peace entered into with the Sultan's father, 118; the Venetians transfer to him the tribute previously paid to the Sultan of Egypt for the possession of Cyprus; Pope Leo X. decrees a new crusade against the infidels, but with no result save a profitable compact between himself and the French king; Selim's last enterprise directed against Rhodes, which he was not destined to accomplish; dies of the plague at Tschorli; the fame of this great conqueror sullied by acts of the most impious cruelty; yet, in spite of sanguinary follies and crimes, is reckoned amongst the great men of the Ottoman Empire, 119.

Selim II. *the Drunkard*, son of Solyman *the Great* and Sultana Roxalana, his share in the plot to ruin his brother Bajazet, 149, who is given up by the Shah of Persia to the agents of Selim and murdered with his five sons, 150; on his accession he exhausts the treasury by gratifications to the Janissaries, seraglio officers, and the ulema; the first of the Ottoman Sultans who proves to be utterly unworthy of the throne; leaves all the cares of government to his vizier Sokolli, 152; after concluding a peace with Austria, the Sultan directs his attention to the conquest of Cyprus and Arabia, by which his reign is chiefly distinguished; curious motive assigned for undertaking the Cyprian war; the Venetians defend Nicosia and Famagosta against the Turkish forces under Mustapha Pacha; Nicosia taken and the inhabitants massacred; Famagosta relieved by the Venetians, but its valiant defender Bragadino is flayed alive and quartered by Mustapha, 153; an alliance called the Holy League formed against the Sultan between Pope Pius II., Philip II. of Spain, the Venetians, and one or two

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minor powers; the Christians of the league attack the Osmanli fleet near Lepanto, and defeat the Turks with terrible loss of men and ships; a peace being finally concluded, Venice surrenders Cyprus, and consents to pay a double tribute for Zante, the last important act of the reign of Selim II., who dies from the consequences of a debauch; towards the close of this reign begin the first disputes of the Porte with Russia, 154.

Selim III., son of Mustapha III., succeeds his uncle, Abdul Hamed; resolves to prosecute the war against Austria, and commands all the "Faithful" between sixteen and sixty to take up arms; acts with more zeal than discretion, and loses more hearts than he gains, 236; his exasperation at Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt; which gives rise to an alliance between Russia and the Porte, 242; visits the Russian fleet in the Dardanelles; for the first and perhaps last time the Russian flag waves in union with the Crescent; testifies his gratitude to Nelson by magnificent presents, 244; deposes the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia; is himself deposed by an insurrection of the Janissaries, and strangled by order of Mustapha IV., 248.

Seljukide Sultans, their ferocious ardour for war and conquest, 28; the empire attains its highest pitch of splendour under Malek Shah; at his death it is divided between the four chief Seljukian dynasties, 29.

Servia, its boundaries in the tenth century, 253; its partial submission to the Greek Empire; its nominal vassalage thereto; its ruler first acknowledged as king by Pope Gregory VII.; the work of Methodius and Cyrillus the same as that confirmed and extended in later years by the "Omladina," the uniting one national religion with one national tongue; the Servians foment every sort of discord at Constantinople, 254; John Cantacuzene invites the aid of Douschan, King of Servia; they enter into a bond of brotherhood, but afterwards become bitter enemies; Douschan raises his country to a position which it has never since enjoyed, 255; under Bajazet I. it becomes tributary to the Turks; enjoys perfect freedom of worship for nearly three centuries, 256; the national Church completely extinguished about 1740; reasons of their isolation from the other Christians of the Ottoman Empire; reign of terror created by the Janissaries, 258; the Servians enjoy comparative prosperity under Abu Bekir, 259; their slaughter by the Janissaries, 260; the work of reprisal carried out by the Servian chiefs under Kara George; temporary emancipation from Turkish rule, 261; soon restored to the possession of the Turks; secret society of the Hetæria, 262; rule of Milosch; revolt of the peasantry; intrigues of the Hetæria with Russia, 263; rule of Milosch Obrenovitsch, 264; his forced abdication, 265; succeeded by his son Michael, who, after a reign of twelve months, flees for his life to Semlin; Kara Georgevitsch proclaimed prince, and the Porte confirms the choice, 266.

"Seven Towers," the ancient Byzantine castle called the, description of, 165.

Siawusch Pacha succeeds the unfortunate Ibrahim Pacha as grand vizier; after the deposition of Mahommed IV. by the army, he enters Constantinople at the head of the rebellious troops; the Janissaries and spahis become more turbulent than ever, demand an increased accession-donative, which being resisted, a furious riot ensues, in which the palaces of the ministers are stormed, plundered, and burnt, and the grand vizier himself falls by the hands of those who elected him, his body being torn into shreds, and horrible cruelties inflicted upon his wife, sister, and slaves, 197.

Sigismund, King of Hungary, aided by French and German allies, besieges Nicopolis, with a view of crushing the rising Ottoman Empire, but is defeated by Bajazet I.; escapes in the Venetian and Rhodian fleet to Dalmatia, 58-9

Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, is defeated with the Archduke Maximilian by the Turks at Keresztes, in a battle which lasts three days, an event which creates the greatest alarm throughout Europe, 163.

Siman, Bedreddin de, a learned jurisconsult and theologian, and judge at Nicæa, promotes certain strange dogmas, the preaching of which

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causes an insurrection near Smyrna, 67; rapidly raises a force in the Hæmus mountains; is defeated by the Turkish army near Seres, and hanged, 68.
Slavonians, the, that term comprising various nationalities, 300.
Sobieski, John, King of Poland; the Poles refusing to ratify the treaty of Bucsacs, or become tributary to the Porte, Mahommed IV. again invades Poland, and is a second time successful against Kaminiec; France in vain attempts to negotiate a peace; the Tartar Khan then serves as a mediator with success, and a treaty is signed at Daoud, by which Kaminiec, Podolia, and the Ukraine, remained to the Porte, except some towns, 187; at the head of a valiant army aids the Emperor Leopold at the siege of Vienna by the Turks; in a charge is carried too far, and nearly overwhelmed by numbers, but puts the enemy to flight on all sides, 193; inflicts upon them another signal defeat, and ends the campaign by the capture of Gran, held almost a century and a half by the Turks, 194.
Sokolli, vizier of Selim *the Drunkard*, preserves the traditions of the reign of Solyman *the Great*, and maintains the dignity of the empire in its foreign relations, 152; his authority restrained by Amurath III., 155; the Sultan's favourites work his ruin; his nephew Mustapha Pacha, Governor of Ofen, executed, and the vizier assassinated in his palace, 159.
Soliman-Shah, son of Kaialp, driven into Armenia by the invasion of Zinghis, is drowned in the Euphrates, 31.
Solyman, kinsman of Malek Shah, conquers Asia Minor from the Greeks; attempting to free himself from the suzerainty of Malek, is overcome and slain, 30.
Solyman, son of Orchan, captures a fortress in Thrace, and the Turks first obtain a permanent footing in Europe, 44; fixes his residence at Gallipoli, and extends his conquests until arrested by a fatal accident, 45.
Solyman, son of Bajazet I., establishes himself at Adrianople; enters into an alliance with the Emperor Manuel, and surrenders to him a portion of the Ottoman conquests in Europe, 64; views with indifference the struggles between his two brothers for superiority, until Mahommed having gained a victory over Mousa, Solyman contends with the former for the supreme power in Asia; struggles with, and quickly overcomes Mousa in Europe, and is acknowledged Sultan by the European powers; sinks again into extreme dissipation; Mousa appearing before Adrianople with his recruited army, Solyman, fleeing towards Constantinople, is overtaken and slain, 65.
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